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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

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ART. I.—THE KEY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

(EZEK. XL—XLVIII).

EZEKIEL'S final vision has been called by biblical criticism "the key of the Old Testament,"¹ and used as such with far-reaching effect. It is at least a key: when a priest and prophet of the Exile² drafts a ritual code, explanation of his intention is fundamental to understanding of Israel's religious development. The strength of the critical position is that it offers an explanation, the weakness of the traditional that it brushes the question aside at the expense of depreciating Ezekiel.

The critical explanation is simple and straightforward: since Ezekiel's code is less complex than the Mosaic, it is more

¹ Wellhausen, quoting J. Orth, in *History of Israel*, 421; Smend, referring to George and Vatke, in *Ezechiel*, 312. To Pentateuchal criticism, "as so often in Old Testament problems, the key is really furnished by Ezekiel."—Lofthouse, *Century Bible*, 29. "Ezekiel's sketch of a religious constitution for the community on its return provided the bridge between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. In particular his solution of the problem created by the disestablishment of the priesthood of the high places, directly prepared the way for the distinction between priests and Levites so characteristic of P. This constitutes one of the decisive proofs that P is later than Ezekiel."—Peake, *Commentary*, 46-47.

² "The Ministry of Ezekiel in Babylonia in the sixth century B.C." is affirmed (*contra* Torrey) by Barnes, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Apr., 1934, 169.

primitive; since it was written shortly after the destruction of Solomon's temple, it represents an attempt to preserve and amend the temple-praxis against the day of restoration; it therefore stands as one of the first drafts of the ritual which Ezra over a century later established in the second temple. To the post-exilic dating of the Mosaic code there is in fact no stouter buttress than the obligation laid on the representative priest of the Exile to write down his idea of the temple-praxis: what need would there have been for Ezekiel's draft if the Mosaic ritual had already before the Exile been in writing?

The records of Israel to a great degree support this theory of its religious development. In the early history of the land the ritual of Moses is conspicuous mainly by its absence, the altars of Israel by their multiplicity. The traditional view requires us to believe that an elaborate ritual-code was provided for a national sanctuary before the tribes entered the land, but remained with little observable influence until a thousand years later, and subsequent to the drafting of a different code by the leading theologian of the Exile. The modernist view declares that the ritual was never codified before Ezekiel's day, that he and others made it their duty to reduce it to writing, and that thus after the labour of some generations the full code dignified as Mosaic was produced. The modernist contention makes strong appeal to common-sense, and its weight can be felt in quarters where textual criticism has none; with the support of textual criticism it has naturally become the victorious hypothesis.

The history of Israel is thus no longer the history of a religion which produced a nation, but of a nation which produced a religion; it falls into line with the evolutionary hypothesis which sees the story of the human race as continuous advance. Indeed the modernist concept of Israel's development is so bound up with the evolutionary theory that it will scarcely admit overthrow if upset on one point, even though this be, in Delitzsch's terminology, the Archimedean point of balance. Yet if it is to be assailed, it must be first attacked

on this key-question of Ezekiel's intention: failure to disprove the Mosaic ritual a development from Ezekiel's code renders further argument nugatory.

To discussion of the problem may be prefaced reminder that among unsettled, disunited, and "stiffnecked" tribes who in their wilderness days "walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments" (Ezek. xx, 16, 21) and in historical estimate could be scorned as "ye who received the law as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not" (Acts vii, 53), other reasons than its non-existence may have brought it about that "though I write for him my law in ten thousand precepts, they are counted as a foreign thing" (Hos. viii, 12). Neither, it can be urged, is the simplicity of the solution necessarily on a par with the simplicity of Ezekiel's code: there is a simplicity of mastery as of noviciate, and the facile surface explanation is dangerous when applied to a writer ranked by Victor Hugo in "the avenue of the immovable giants of the human mind," one moreover who, taught to make silence a vehicle, quite evidently restrains himself from speaking out all that is in his heart. When he fails to mention the name of Zion in the course of a book written round it,³ the omission suggests, and may be intended to suggest, the need of reading between his lines elsewhere. What if we have here, not a pioneer of Judaism, but the seer of the age "when the whole earth rejoiceth" (xxxv, 14) and "all fowl of every wing" dwell in the shadow of Adonai's cedar (xvii, 23), turning from the limitations of the sixth century B.C. to a larger hope with which his silences are as pregnant as is "Zion" in psalmist or Isaiah—a hope with which criticism has culpably failed to credit him?

Quite fairly the critical theory may be charged, not merely with failing to understand Ezek. xl—xlviii, but with not trying: witness the conclusion that the prophet in apportioning the land

³ The word "Zion" occurs 47 times in Isaiah, 32 times in Jeremiah and Lamentations, 30 times in minor prophets, 38 times in Psalms, but never in Ezekiel.

placed the temple in the centre at Jerusalem. In logical form the syllogism stands—

Ezekiel makes his temple the centre of the land;⁴

The critical hypothesis requires his temple at Jerusalem;⁵ *therefore*, Ezekiel considered Jerusalem the centre of the land.

In other words, either Ezekiel was a babe in the physical geography of Palestine, or he disdained all practical considerations in his land-plan. The second alternative is perforce adopted, in face of the prophet's careful delineation of the land's boundaries, his specifications for his temple so complete that it is more real to us than Solomon's or Zerubbabel's, and his sacrifice of literary considerations to his draftsman's duty in the climax of his work.

The situation of Ezekiel's temple is of course vital to his place in an hypothesis of which the energising motive is the desire of the Jerusalem priesthood to centralise worship at their own sanctuary. Moriah was the inspiration and its magnification the aim of the long toil which, according to the theory, produced first Deuteronomy with its law of one central sanctuary, then Ezekiel's code and the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii-xxvi), and finally the Priestly Code embodying the tabernacle-ritual of the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy, however, as it stands to-day, orders the erection of the national altar on Mount Ebal (xxvii, 4-5; cp. xi, 29; Jos. viii, 30); Ezekiel directs it to stand in the centre of the country—that is, in the same locality, if he considered what he was doing; and neither in Deuteronomy, in Ezekiel's code, nor in the whole Pentateuch, late or early, is the name or undisputed fame of Jerusalem found. Against these insubordinate facts stands the reputation of Jerusalem as the only conceivable temple-site for the

⁴ Davidson, *Cambridge Bible*, 315; Lofthouse, *Century Bible*, 329; *Prophet of Reconstruction*, 209-10; M'Fadyen, *Peake's Comm.*, 521.

⁵ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 163; Davidson, 387; Lofthouse, *Century Bible*, 350; *Prophet*, 209, etc.; Carpenter, *Peake's Comm.*, 131.

Jew. Assail that reputation, and a picture begins to form of Jewish priests labouring in the interests of a rival sanctuary. Consequently critical investigation of Ezekiel's temple-site has been fainéant.

Yet the most patent thing in the prophet's scheme is that he has no intention of replacing the temple in the "bloody" and "harlot" Jerusalem whence he had watched the Shekinah in fury depart. The new temple is to be the centre of a land which reaches from the entering-in of Hamath to the Brook of Egypt, and so well north of Jerusalem. It is to be separate from the city and north of it (xlviii, 10-15), and so again, it appears, north of Zion, "the city of David" and "the city of the Lord" and "*the city*" of xl, 1. It is to be surrounded by a wall one mile square (xlii, 15-20), and so out of relation to the Moriah site. It is to stand on the south of a high mountain (xl, 2),⁶ and so decisively not on its former site. The stream which flows from it is to go towards eastern Galilee,⁷ then down into the Arabah, and as "two rivers," yet one, to proceed towards the Dead Sea (xlvii, 8-9). The royal "carcases" in neighbouring "high places" are indiscriminately to be put far away as defilement (xliii, 7-9), and so are not those of David and his line of destiny, for whose "young lions" and lack of "a sceptre to rule" the prophet sincerely laments, while his hope is that "David my servant shall be their prince for ever." The sanctuary is to be served no more by uncircumcised aliens (xliv, 6-9), and not the most ingenious argument can establish uncircumcised aliens as "keepers of my charge in my sanctuary" at Jerusalem, when the context recognises there "the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary" (15).

The evidence is altogether that Ezekiel is placing the national altar where Deuteronomy intends it to stand—on the

⁶ The "building" comparable to "the frame of a city," whither the prophet was immediately brought, is the mile-square wall of the temple-enclosure.

⁷ *gelilah*. "The same word as Galilee."—Davidson, 381: cp. 2 K. xv, 29; Is. ix, 1. LXX renders "Galilee."

south side of Mount Ebal, in the Vale of Shechem, the first altar-site of Abraham, Jacob-Israel, and Joshua, that is, of each previous entrance to the land. Shechem is the geometrical centre of Palestine,⁸ its "navel" (Jg. ix, 37). It is the distance north of Zion—fifteen thousand reeds, or about thirty miles—which Ezekiel's directions require the sanctuary to be from the city. The "place" of Jacob's "parcel of ground" and of "the sanctuary of the Lord" whither the tribes assembled (Jos. xxiv, 26) affords ample room for a mile-square enclosure. Ebal, the culminating and highest peak of the central range, "the head of the mountains" at which in the latter days the mountain of the Lord's house is to be established (Is. ii, 2; Mic. iv, 1), answers to the prophet's stance in xl, 2 as no eminence around Jerusalem does. The Wady Farah, curving northward from Shechem before descending to join the Jordan, suggests the course of the sanctuary stream as evidently as the Kidron, flowing directly into the Dead Sea, does not. The consistently evil and thrice-accursed regicide dynasties of Northern Israel, whose kings—"dung" and "foam upon the water"—were buried within the sanctuary portion at Tirzah and Samaria, explain the peremptory initial demand for the removal of the royal carcasses from their high places.⁹ And the alien

⁸ Shechem is "the physical centre of Palestine," "its obvious centre," "the natural centre of the land."—G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography* (1931), 324, 118, 343. "In the very centre of the land, close to an ancient sanctuary (Gen. xii, 6; xxxiii, 18f.)."—Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 132. Mt. Ebal is equidistant (73 m.) from Dan and Beersheba, which in turn are equidistant respectively from the entering-in of Hamath (=Bab el-Bika'—Baalbek road, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan., 1934, 22ff.) and from the Brook of Egypt.

⁹ The accusation of xliii, 7-9 refers entirely to N. Israel: they set "their threshold by my threshold" at Bethel, the "house of God" and gate of heaven in Gen. xxviii, 17, but the king's sanctuary and a royal house in Am. vii, 13; and they placed "the wall between me and them" in 1 K. xii, 27ff.; xv, 17: cp. Am. vii, 7-8. (R.V. "there was *but* the wall" inverts the sense.) In Ezekiel's plan Bethel is the centre for the Levites, "the ministers of the house" and wardens of its gates. Application of v. 8 to the king's house at Jerusalem conflicts with 1 K. ix, 1-3; Jer. xxii, 6.

keepers of the sanctuary, offering sacrifice to Jehovah in Ezekiel's day as they still do in ours "in this mountain" of Gerizim, are the *Shomrim*, "Keepers," as they call themselves—Samaritans of Shechem, as twenty-five centuries have known them.¹⁰

The alleged *raison d'être* of Ezekiel's scheme thus disappears. He was not anxiously preserving the old praxis against its re-establishment; he was turning his back on the custom of four centuries and centering his hope on the ancient sanctuary of Abraham and Israel whose first promise had neither been fulfilled nor blighted. If he preserved the Jerusalem praxis in his code, that was merely incidental to a purpose which was directly opposed to the exaltation of Moriah. Consciously he had neither art nor part in the supposititious priestly scheme; and, equally, Deuteronomy now fails to bear the construction which the modernist theory puts upon it—that it was purposively discovered in 621 B.C. to assist the ambitions of the Jerusalem hierarchy. If Ezekiel wrote under its influence—and from both old and new viewpoints he did—he understood "the place which the Lord your God shall choose" to be Shechem; and if this was the reaction to it of a representative priest of Moriah, its origin must be sought in pre-temple times rather than within the ambit of Jerusalem.¹¹

¹⁰ 2 K. xvii, 24-41; still "alien," Lk. xvii, 18. For fuller discussion of the placing of Ezekiel's sanctuary see writer's articles in *Princeton Theological Review*, July and Oct., 1922; July, 1923; note in *Expository Times*, July, 1923. A convincing argument is the drawing of the plan of Ezek. xlviii on the map, avoiding the errors of transferring the Levites' portion north of the priests', and of changing reeds to cubits: (500 reeds = approx. 1 mile). A map depicting the plan appeared in *Princeton Th. R.*, Jan., 1924.

¹¹ Outside that ambit, in fact, it is now being sought: see Welch, *Code of Deuteronomy* (1924); *Deuteronomy* (1932). If from arguments therein presented for the early date of the code be deducted the argument that it does not in basis intend the centralisation of worship (and that primarily at Mt. Ebal, though permissibly at "the place which the Lord shall choose in any of thy tribes," xii, 14), a date preliminary to the occupation of the land becomes as reasonable as any. On the theory that Dt. was produced to

The evolutionary theory of Israel's development is thus left somewhat in the air. Can the authors of the Priestly Code be supposed to have taken as basis a codex aiming at the exaltation of a rival sanctuary, amalgamated their work with early narratives in which this Shechem is the patriarchal sanctuary and Jerusalem ignored, imputed the whole to a Moses who in Deuteronomy directs the tribes to Ebal, and thus produced for the elevation of Jerusalem a work which so magnifies its rival that it has ever since been the most prized possession and supreme authority of the Samaritans of Shechem? Though scores of times they wrote, "Jehovah spake to Moses," "Jehovah commanded Moses," yet did they scruple to disguise the primordial sanctity of Shechem, or even to add as note to Salem, "the same is Jerusalem"? If so, they were scarcely the inventors of the tabernacle in the wilderness.

Logically the critical hypothesis has no standing-ground, yet theologically it may still be enthroned. It has always been evident that the attitude of the Pentateuch to Jerusalem is in the supposed circumstances of its production surprising;¹² it is improbable that recognition of Ezekiel's concurrence will disturb evolutionary conviction. Against the force of logic comes the overwhelming strength of the sentiment that Jerusalem—Jerusalem in its historical bounds, or, in effect, Moriah—was the divinely appointed temple-site;¹³ while in the face of the Ezekielian return to Shechem is the concentration upon Jerusalem of the post-exilic priesthood, their bitter hostility to Shechem, and the universal belief of Jewry that no

¹² "In the highest degree surprising."—Wellhausen, 164.

¹³ Yet Moriah is a name foreign to prophecy, though "out of the city of David, which is Zion" (1 K. viii, 1; 2 Ch. v, 2). Whether "the land of Moriah" in Gen. xxii, 2 excludes Shechem is debatable: see Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, note to ch. v. The certainty concerning Mt. Moriah is that its altar had its origin in divine wrath with David (cp. 1 Ch. xxi, 30f.).

centralise worship at Jerusalem, the incorporation or addition of xxvii, 1-8 is a mystery.

other temple-site than David's is conceivable. In the deeps of this sentiment argument is drowned; and it may be admitted that, even if in every document used by the authors of the Priestly Code the central sanctuary was Shechem, still it is possible that, trusting to political exigencies plus the reputation of Jerusalem, they could successfully utter the Pentateuch as a recommendation of its temple—though why they should risk doing so without mention of Jerusalem is a question. Thus, so long as Ezekiel's ritual is unexplained except as a link between early uncoded praxis and the complete document of a post-exilic code, it may still play its part as the critical key of the Old Testament. To restore the history of Israel to its traditional channel it is a necessity to demonstrate Ezekiel's code a development from the so-called Priestly Code. If he was working, not towards, but up from the Mosaic ritual, the salient reason for supposing the latter previously unwritten disappears; and since ground has emerged for believing the prophet misunderstood in the focal point of his scheme, it is credible that he has been comparably misinterpreted in the remainder.

That Ezekiel was more than a recorder of established praxis is allowed: on the modernist hypothesis he was in some degree an innovator. According to it he initiated the division of the hierarchy into priests ("sons of Zadok") and Levites; and further changes may be indicated in the words of a believer in the hypothesis. "Ezekiel knows nothing of any office corresponding to that of 'high-priest' . . . In spite of Ezekiel's silence on the high-priest . . . there was already a chief priest in Jerusalem." The "table is the only piece of furniture in the temple (the ark is never heard of after the destruction of Solomon's temple)". The great altar "is to be built of stone, and the precision with which he describes it implies that it is completely different from the old altar." Nothing corresponding to its consecration "is said to have taken place at the dedication of Solomon's temple." "The distinction between outer and inner courts belongs to Ezekiel . . . He says nothing

of the brazen sea or the 'lavers'." In the temple "he even refuses to allow gold—a vast difference from Solomon here; and in its sacrifices he will have no wine." "Equally striking is his calm neglect of the royal house." "Previously the kings had been judges"; and the restriction on the prince's share in worship "is in sharp contrast to the practice of the earlier kings." The tithe "Ezekiel does not mention . . . though he must have known of it." "The old rule, that the people should appear three times a year before Yahweh, is unmentioned." "The festivals lose all their old character . . . 'Weeks' drops out altogether." His code neither "contains any historical reference to the Passover, nor mentions the Passover lamb." "Ezekiel mentions no penalties, nor does he seem to contemplate the possibility of disobedience."¹⁴

The list can be extended,¹⁵ but the internuncio's mantle already slips from the prophet's shoulders: on four counts there is cause for divestiture. Firstly, he ignores the ark; in all the house he saw no furniture but "my table." Yet the former praxis had centred on the ark: in the early historical books it appears, to quote Peake's *Commentary*,¹⁶ as "the visible seat of Yahweh's presence," and in Deuteronomy as "memorial of

¹⁴ Lofthouse, *Century Bible*, 32, 306-335.

¹⁵ No ephod, as in 1 Sa. ii, 28; xiv, 3: no Urim and Thummim, as in Dt. xxxiii, 8; 1 Sa. xxviii, 6; cp. Ezr. ii, 63: no tenth of Tishri, as in Lev. xxiii, 27 (Holiness Code); Ezek. xl, 1: no consecration of priests (R.V. of xliii, 26 is correct), as in 1 Sa. vii, 1; 1 K. xiii, 33: no anointing oil, as in 1 Ch. xxix, 22; Lev. xxi, 10 (H); cp. Zech. iv, 14: no candlesticks nor altar of incense, as in 1 K. vii, 48-49: no incense, as in Dt. xxxiii, 10; 1 Sa. ii, 28; Is. i, 13; Ezek. xvi, 18; xxiii, 41: no evening offering, as in 1 K. xviii, 29; 2 K. xvi, 15: no redemption of firstborn nor offerings of firstlings, as in Ex. xxxiv. 19-20 (Covenant Words); Dt. xii, 6; xv., 19—"a species of sacrifice which in all probability goes back to the nomadic stage," *Ency. Bib.*, IV, 4185; cp. Gen. iv, 4: no clean and unclean animals, as in Dt. xiv, 3-20 (cp. xlv, 31): no legislation for disease, as in Dt. xxiv, 8 (cp. xlvii, 12), war, idolatry, crime (cp. xlv, 9-10). For additional positive innovations, see *infra*.

¹⁶ Harford, 189-190.

the once-for-all-concluded alliance between Yahweh and Israel." And though it vanished at the Exile, in the second temple a substitute (the "foundation stone") was provided, for (to quote the same *Commentary*) in the Priestly Code it is "set in the forefront of Israel's sacred things, as that for the sake of which the whole sanctuary was made." How then can a ritual oblivious of the ark be a bridge between pre-exilic times and Priestly Code?

In the other focus of Mosaic ritual, the altar, equivalent weakness of the hypothesis is exposed. According to the admittedly early "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xx, 25) and the practice of Joshua (viii, 31; cp. Dt. xxvii, 5-6), an altar of hewn stone was a polluted altar; and after the Exile this proscription continued to be observed, the altar being of whole stones (I Mac. iv, 47):¹⁷ likewise altar-steps were forbidden in Ex. xx, 26, and not used after the Exile.¹⁷ Yet (commentators agree) Ezekiel's altar, "fitly framed together" of four square superimposed blocks of lessening area with measured ledges and protective edge-moulding, must be of hewn stone;¹⁸ and it is approached by steps (xliii, 13-17). When ark and altar go, does Moses remain?

The absence of high priest provides a third refutation of the intermediary position thrust upon the prophet, though here the issue is sometimes avoided by denying the existence of such office before the Exile. Yet Ezekiel's choice of "the sons of Zadok" for his priesthood shows that Zadok, David's priest and Solomon's, was greater than his brethren; while the names of Eli, Jehoiada, Urijah, Hilkiah, and Seraiah (also of Amariah and two Azariahs from Chronicles) confirm that Ezekiel in placing all priests on a parity was not following custom. The title "high priest" is found in Joshua (xx, 6) as well as in Kings and Chronicles; in the Holiness Code, allegedly more or

¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars*, v, 5, 6.

¹⁸ Davidson, 355ff.; Lofthouse, *C.B.*, 316; M'Fadyen, *Peake's Comm.*, 519. Cp. "tables for the burnt-offering, of hewn stone" (xl, 42).

less contemporary with Ezekiel, its holder has a sanctity alike above his fellows and above all Ezekiel's priesthood;¹⁹ and the returning exiles had at their head a high priest who held the office by hereditary claim. Here in a third crucial instance Ezekiel emerges in the light in which he actually appeared to Jews²⁰—a challenger of Moses, breaking, not assisting, the continuity of Israelite story.

Fourthly, since the modernist hypothesis was formulated, a point has come to light which shows Ezekiel's passover regulations, not merely as differing from both the traditional²¹ and the post-exilic, but as the reverse of contemporary practice. In his code the paschal meal is abandoned, the special sacrifice for the day of Passover being a single bullock for the whole nation, while the feast of Unleavened Bread is enjoined (xlv,

¹⁹ The high priest of Lev. xxi, 11, 14, may not defile himself by going near any dead body nor by marrying a widow of any kind (cp. other priests, 2, 7). All Ezekiel's priests may defile themselves for near relatives (xlv, 25), and may marry a priest's widow (xlv, 22). Skinner says, "It is certain that there were high priests under the monarchy."—*Expositor's Bible*, 437.

²⁰ Among the Jews "the only book (in Prophets) as to which any dispute seems to have occurred was Ezekiel. . . The closing chapters were equally puzzling (with ch. i), because they give a system of law and ritual divergent in many points from the Pentateuch. Compare Jerome's *Ep. to Paulinus* :—"The beginning and end of Ezekiel are involved in obscurities, and among the Hebrews these parts, and the exordium of Genesis, must not be read by a man under thirty." Hence, in the apostolic age, a question was raised as to the value of the book; for, of course, nothing could be accepted that contradicted the Torah. We read in the Talmud (*Hagiga*, 13a) that 'but for Hananiah, son of Hezekiah, they would have suppressed the Book of Ezekiel, because its words contradict those of the Torah. What did he do? They brought up to him three hundred measures of oil, and he sat down and explained it.'"—Robertson Smith, *O.T. in Jewish Church*, 410.

²¹ "A historic interpretation . . . is ignored even in the case of the Passover, where it was already firmly established in the national consciousness."—Skinner, 469. Cp. Dt. xvi, 6-7; 2 K. xxiii, 21-23.

21-24); but in the Jewish colony of 419 B.C. at Elephantine, founded in Ezekiel's century and judged to have preserved in its isolation the religious outlook of his contemporaries, "it would seem that the colony knew about the Passover, although they had not kept it regularly, but that the feast of Unleavened Bread was either unknown to them or had been entirely neglected."²² Again there is positive defiance of a tradition to which the returned exiles clung. On four major counts—ark, altar, high priest, passover — Ezekiel is nowise a link between pre-exilic praxis and the code of Judaism, but is *sui generis*.

His failure as link, whether with Priestly Code or second temple, further appears in his disregard of carried-over usage in the case of ephod and anointing oil, incense-altar and incense, candlestick, priests' laver or "sea," regulations on prohibited animals and leprosy, and in rejection of consecration for his priests (while he "fills the hands" of the altar), of evening offering from alongside morning offering, of first-born from alongside firstfruits, and of Pentecost and tenth Tishri from his calendar. In positive innovations no clear case is afforded of precedent inaugurated for post-exilic praxis;²³ on the contrary, as in the case of the altar, the planks of the "bridge" frequently rest on neither bank. (a) The pre-exilic worshipper as a rule killed his own sacrifice; Ezekiel orders the Levites to slay the victim for the worshipper (xliv, 11); the Priestly Code says the owner shall do it, and so in practice it continued. (b) The tithe was the understood contribution for the sanctuary; Ezekiel prescribes one nearer a hundredth (xlv, 13-17); the Priestly Code clings to the tithe, and so in

²² Cowley, *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra*, xvii and no. 21: papyri discovered 1898-1908.

²³ "Fine flour" (xlvi, 14) was used in pre-exilic praxis (xvi, 19). With regard to sin- and trespass-offerings, "the manner in which the prophet alludes to them rather shows that the idea was perfectly familiar to his contemporaries."—Skinner, 474. His exclusion of the people from inner court (xlvi, 3) was not the rule in the second temple (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii, 13, 5). On elevation of Zadokites, see *infra*.

practice did the priests. (c) Priests' garments were wont to be of *bad*, "white linen" (I Sa. ii, 18; xxii, 18); Ezekiel says *pishtim*, "flax" (xliv, 17-18); the Priestly Code gives *bad*, but never *pishtim*, for such vestments. (d) Strangers were a distinct class in old Israel; Ezekiel admits resident aliens to full citizenship without restriction (xlvi, 22-23); the Priestly Code requires circumcision, and Nehemiah's congregation followed Deuteronomy in casting out the Ammonite and the Moabite for ever. (e) In Deuteronomy the people are within the holy camp (xxiii, 14); in Ezekiel they are outside (xlvi, 15), but again within in Priestly Code (Nu. v, 3) and post-exilic outlook (Mt. xxvii, 53). (f) Finally, in his separation of city from temple, his oblation-land for priests, Levites, and citizens, his regulations for the prince's demesne (xlvi, 16-18), and his atoning ceremonies for inner and outer court (xlv, 18-20), he stands remote from actuality, previous or subsequent.

If it needs an assisted eye to see Ezekiel's code as a bridge,²⁴ the Nelsonian eye is required to find in it a primer for priests. The rubric is time and again taken for granted, so that he either is presuming an available authority, such as only the tabernacle-ritual now provides, or is a very casual one himself—an alternative which anyone impressed by his punctiliousness elsewhere may reasonably decline. Thus he mentions some types of sacrifice—peace-offerings, trespass-offerings, drink-offerings—with no explanation of their nature and occasion,²⁵ while he directs the sin-offering to be destroyed

²⁴ The critical allegation that Ezekiel's provision for offerings is between D and P is imaginative: D offers no tariff for comparison, and while Ezekiel demands less than P at Tabernacles and New Moon, he (apart from the omitted drink-offering) asks more for the consecration of the altar (Ex. xxix, 36), Unleavened Bread, Sabbath, and morning offering.

²⁵ Peace-offerings have bare mention in Dt. xxvii, 7. According to the critical school sin- and trespass- (R.V. guilt-) offerings occur first in Ezekiel, though he says nothing to distinguish the latter from the former. For drink-offerings (xlv, 17) even his alleged prohibition of wine (Wellhausen, 107; *Ency. Bib.*, IV, 4124) is omitted: comparison of xliv, 21 with Lev. x, 9 and Nu. xxviii, 7 suggests it not intended.

by fire "without the sanctuary" and eaten by priests inside it.²⁶ He takes for granted knowledge of laws about "the fat and the blood,"²⁷ "the most holy things" for sacerdotal meals,²⁸ and the table of shewbread.²⁹ He introduces *en passant* the term *korban*³⁰ and "the breadth of the tabernacle,"³¹ prescribes salt only for a burnt-offering,³² ordains contributions from people to priesthood without specifying them,³³ directs what a priest shall do "after he is cleansed," but gives neither procedure nor period of cleansing,³⁴ and speaks of "the year of liberty"³⁵ and "the feast"³⁶ without saying what either is.

²⁶ xliii, 21; xliv, 29; xlii, 13. The rule in P is that the priests eat the sin-offering when their own sin is not involved, *e.g.*, Lev. vi, 29-30.

²⁷ xliv, 15; cp. 7: *i.e.*, the altar-portions in peace-, sin-, and trespass-offerings in contrast to burnt-offerings. Explained Lev. iii-vii.

²⁸ xlii, 13; xliv, 13. Again one must turn to P (Lev. ii-vii), where these are permissible remanent portion of meal- (A.V. meat-) offerings and equivalent flesh of sin- and trespass-offerings—as implied (? casually) in xlii, 13 with xliv, 29.

²⁹ xli, 22; xliv, 16. See Lev. xxiv, 5-9 (H).

³⁰ xl, 43; cp. xx, 28. Elsewhere in O.T. only in Lev. and Nu. Cp. Mk. vii, 11.

³¹ xli, 1. This *must* be a gloss (from Ex. xxvi, 16, 25—P).

³² xliii, 24. Either he casually leaves the question open for other offerings, or he ensures an interpretation of Lev. ii, 13c as in Mk. ix, 49 (A.V.); Jos., *Ant.*, iii, 9, 1, *i.e.*, salt is not confined to meal-offerings: cp. xlvii, 11.

³³ xliv, 30: "every oblation of everything, of all your oblations, shall be for the priests." Contrast specific oblation for prince, xlv, 13-16.

³⁴ xliv, 26-27. The prophet is thinking of Nu. xix.

³⁵ xlvi, 17. The seventh or the fiftieth year? The land regulations of Lev. xxv, 10 (H); xxvii, 24 (P) supply the relevant, but for criticism inconvenient, solution, *viz.*, the year of Jubile. Ezekiel's vision of national Jubile was (from xl, 1 with i, 1-2) on a fiftieth-year "New Year's Day" (*rosh hashanah*: see Wellhausen, 110) which was tenth, not first, day of month—answering to a day of Jubile calculated from 621 B.C. If this was the

A natural explanation of such procedure is that the prophet was not setting up as a pioneer-codifier, but modifying a usage certain of preservation through the Exile. If working from an existent authority, it is apparent why a painstaking pen should define merely an additional period in connection with purification—dues to prince but not to priests—details of offerings only if changed or doubtful. A striking instance of this last differentiation is the meal-offering for a ram, which four times in close succession is defined as an ephah (of unspecified material) and a hin of oil per ephah (xlv, 24; xlvi, 5, 7, 11)—this while, so far as the higher criticism is informed, the drink-offerings in silence condemn the “vineyards” of xxviii, 26, and the anxiously defined meal-offering assumes newfangled “fine flour” in place of consuetudinary “meal” (Jg. vi, 19; I Sa. i, 24; cp. xlvi, 14) and forgets the salt. Yet the principle of his meal-offering could not be simpler, so that it appears that an old rule on the quantity of fine flour is cancelled, and one written more permanently than on men’s minds: in a summary draft this fourfold statement indicates an equivalent emphasis to be overborne—and in Numbers the meal-offering of fine flour for a ram is seven times defined in other proportions.³⁷

Neither in effect nor intention is the prophet an intermediary between old custom and the second temple; to enter into his mind, one must reckon with the fact that he is telling the people, not what they must do, but what they will do: the Glory shall return, the Dead Sea be healed, Israel be obedient

³⁷ For ram, 2/10 ephah with 1/3 hin; for bullock (thrice as ram in Ezek.), 3/10 ephah with 1/2 hin: Nu. xv, 6-9; xxviii; xxix.

significance of “the selfsame day,” the law-book discovered in 621 B.C. included Lev. xxv.

³⁶ xlv, 25: *i.e.*, of Tabernacles, from the vision’s viewpoint a supremely significant celebration, yet requiring H to explain this.

and holy³⁸—and the last is no more a regulation than the first or second. The conditions annexed to his code are altogether apart from ecclesiastical planning; the time is the far future when, though each tribal portion is mathematically defined, the land has to be assigned by lot (xlv, 1; xlviii, 29)—in other words, when tribal distinction has been lost. He is “legislating for the millennium,” and evolutionists may not attribute to him their own uncertainty on that era. Ezekiel, it can be maintained, took his duty so seriously that the question, “What was he about, if the ritual was already in writing?” has no relevance. That he was leaving the historical ritual as the historical sanctuary has been shown: that his departures were not casual, but profound changes from anything ever known in the temple at Jerusalem, is what the modernist theory cannot afford to recognise³⁹—for if the alterations were fundamental, the previous non-existence of other ritual-code cannot be deduced. Yet there are apparent aspects in which the salient touches and silences of Ezekiel’s code link it to general expectation of “thy kingdom.” To show that this appearance is reality—that the vision declares the prophetic ritual, is the full statement of what other Hebrew seers hinted and founded on—is the end of its interpretation as a step towards the law of Moses.⁴⁰ It is the weakness of the traditional position that it shrinks from thus taking its stand upon the inspiration of the “son of man.”

³⁸ “He has in view the final state of things in which the people, though not perfect nor exempt from liability to error, are wholly inclined to obey the law of Jehovah so far as their knowledge and ability extend.”—Skinner, 481. “It is a people forgiven and sanctified and led by the spirit of God which the prophet contemplates in ch. xl *seq.*”—Davidson, 316.

³⁹ “Ezekiel’s departure from the ritual of the Pentateuch cannot be explained as intentional alterations of the original; they are too casual and insignificant.”—Wellhausen, 60.

⁴⁰ And—“if this is done” (*i.e.*, lifeless existence of law until Ezra assumed) “it is unallowable to date that existence, not from Moses, but from some other intermediate point in the history of Israel.”—*ib.*

Nevertheless, comprehension of the prophet's "casual" sketch does actually involve study, not only of Scripture from Genesis to Revelation, but of history from Alpha to Omega;⁴¹ and the facts as to interrelation with other Messianic prediction speak for themselves. There is no ark, nor substitute for mercy-seat: "in those days," Jeremiah says, "they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind" (iii, 16). There is no high priest: according to Zechariah, the inscription peculiar to the high priest's mitre, "Holiness to the Lord," shall then be on the bells of the horses (xiv, 20). The priests are the guild of Zadok: Amos expects the tabernacle of David, not of Moses, to be restored (ix, 11)—the tabernacle at whose altar Zadok ministered, but in whose holy of holies there was no ark, because the ark was in the city, as "the Lord is there" in Ezekiel's city (I Ch. xvi, 37-40). The ministers of the sanctuary are priests and Levites, as in Isaiah's new earth (lxvi, 21), of the altar "the priests the Levites," as in Jeremiah's Davidic kingdom (xxxiii, 18); and the emphasis on the meal-offering, symbolic of dedicated service, is paralleled there and in Zephaniah (iii, 10). The stated seasons for the people's worship are Sabbath and New Moon, the general feasts Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles: Isaiah writes, "From one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord" (lxvi, 23); Zechariah predicts, "All the nations . . . shall go up from year to year . . . to keep the feast of tabernacles" (xiv, 16 ff.);⁴² and the passover bread shall be eaten "in the kingdom of God" (Lk. xxii, 16).

⁴¹ The north boundary of Palestine, recoverable from Ezekiel's full delineation rather than from other biblical definition, marks the land as the territory of the ancient world's "dying god," while the significance of the temple's symbol, the palm tree (xl, 16, 31; xli, 18ff.), must be sought outside the Hebrew records. At the other end of the years, the "Keepers" are still in the sanctuary, while the city of David and David's twentieth-century kinsmen creeps towards the N.T. "city of David" (Lk. ii, 11), its centre in Ezekiel's plan.

⁴² It will be objected that Jerusalem is the future centre of

The key to Ezekiel's ritual is found in regarding his oblation-land, with its "most holy" ten thousand reeds, its "holy" ten thousand, and entrance-city, as that tabernacle of David, "known from the beginning of the world," for which apostles as well as prophets looked (Acts xv, 16-18). When he writes, "I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them" (xxxvii, 26-27), the latter term can refer only to this oblation-dwelling of God and his servants; and in that greater and more perfect tabernacle the all-important and overwhelming fact, whose production forms the climax both of his vision and his mission, is that, while the glory of Jehovah fills the temple as "the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever" (xliii, 7), yet fifteen thousand reeds to the right hand "Jehovah is there" in the city (xlvi, 35). The secret of his tabernacle is in "the first principles of the oracles of God" as enunciated in Ps. cx:

"Jehovah saith to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand . . .
 Jehovah shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion . . .
 Thou art a priest for ever
 After the order of Melchizedek."

That the absent high priest of Ezekiel's sanctuary is intentionally the high priest of Melchizedek's order is confirmed by the temple's location at the "place" of the priest-king of

worship (Is. xxvii, 13 ; lxvi, 20 ; Zech. xiv, 17). But the "Jerusalem" of Messianic prediction is Ezekiel's fifty-mile-square oblation, the "Zion" the ten-mile-square city which forms part of it, as historical Zion did of historical Jerusalem. Thus Zechariah (ii, 4-5), fifty years after Ezekiel, speaks of the glorified Jerusalem as unwall'd (Ezekiel's city has gates) and enclosing both the Shekinah and a multitude of cattle (temple and city-lands). Isaiah writes of "all my holy mountain" (lxv, 25), "my holy mountain Jerusalem" (lxvi, 20), "at Jerusalem" (xxvii, 13), and says, "The people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem" (xxx, 19), "Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem . . . a tent . . . a place of broad rivers" (xxxiii, 20-21), "Enlarge the place of thy tent" (liv, 2). Ezekiel allots Samaria and Sodom to the future Jerusalem (xvi, 61)—"Her tent" to "My tent in her" (xxiii, 4).

"Salem, a city of Shechem."⁴³ The city thirty miles to the south is the royal seat of the priestly Lord "who needeth not daily, like those high priests, to offer up sacrifices"; the ark comes no more to mind because he is "set forth a mercy-seat" at the door of the Davidic tabernacle, as the ark of David's cultus rested, not in the most holy place, but on Zion; and all the great blanks of Ezekiel's code—high priest, ark, passover lamb, veil, redemption of firstborn, Pentecost, day of Atonement—are explicable in the light of New Testament abrogation through the advent of the high priest after the order of Melchizedek who, "when he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God."⁴⁴ To this high priest the argument from silence is doubly applicable: firstly, because silence concerning Melchizedek's antecedents and death was the method adopted in Genesis to leave him standing out a figure for eternity; secondly, inasmuch as when the prophet who taught by dumb show is silent concerning Zion, he must be

⁴³ Gen. xii, 6; xiv, 18; xxxiii, 18 (Heb., LXX, Vulg.). Salem, in Samaria, LXX of Jer. xli (xlviii), 5; "valley of Salem," not near Jerusalem, but mentioned after Aesora, 2 m. N. of Shechem, Judith iv, 4. Salim (Jn. iii, 23) is 3 m. E. of ancient Shechem. Scripture never identifies Salem with Jerusalem: on the contrary, Ep. to Hebrews refrains from so doing, and in Ps. lxxvi, 1-2 Israel and Judah have parallel in Salem and Zion. That identification, first found in Jos., *Ant.*, i, 10, 2, is discounted by Jewish unwillingness to give Melchizedek to the Samaritan sanctuary. See Stanley, *l.c.*; Farrar, *Hebrews*, 114-115, who says, "The typical character of Melchizedek would be rather impaired than enhanced by his being a king at Jerusalem, for that was the holy city of the Aaronic priesthood of which he was wholly independent."

⁴⁴ Christ a high priest, Heb. v *ff.*: mercy-seat, Rom. iii, 25: passover, 1 Cor. v, 7: veil, Heb. x, 20: firstborn, Col. i, 18 *ff.*: firstfruits, 1 Cor. xv, 20, cp. Lev. xxiii, 17: abolished day of Atonement, Heb. ix, 25. For "my table," cp. Lk. xxii, 30: absence of consecration of priests, 1 Pet. ii, 9; Rev. i, 5-6: of anointing oil, 1 Jn. ii, 20: of "sea," 1 Cor. vi, 11: of candlesticks, Rev. i, 20: of incense, Rev. v, 8: of evening offering, Is. lx, 20, cp. Rev. xxii, 5: of prohibited animals, Acts x, 15: of idolatry, war, crime, Rev. xx, 3: of distinction between Israelites and strangers, Eph. ii, 11 *ff.*

read as inviting the old question, "What doest thou?"—the answer being that he is no more to be regarded as ignorant of the "priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek" than of the royal hill from which should extend his rod of strength. His knowledge of the two is on a level, not of ignorance, but of wordless expectation of the manifestation of "Adonai at thy right hand"—"Jehovah, El Elyon, possessor of heaven and earth."⁴⁵

It is in conformity with this expectation that his priesthood is the order of Zadok. Since his vision is of a time when "I will set up one shepherd over them . . . even my servant David" (xxxiv, 23), the exemplar of his priesthood is, strictly, not the high priest of Solomon's reign, but David's co-priest of the arkless altar,⁴⁶ in his name, "Righteous," as in his office, related to the order of the "King of righteousness" whose royal priest should be "David." Here the salient fact is that the new priesthood is not of Aaron. The critical theory, however, has seized on the exaltation of the sons of Zadok in xlv, 10-16 to claim that the distinction there introduced can mean only that previously all Levites had in Ezekiel's eyes been eligible for the priesthood, and so understands his evident break with the past as prelude to the actual inauguration among Levites of a priestly caste of Aaronids.⁴⁷ But on the true

⁴⁵ Ps. cx, 5; Gen. xiv, 22. While Gen. identifies the Canaanite deity El Elyon with Jehovah, the Canaanites worshipped the resurrection-lord Adonai (Adonis) as Eliun, "the Most High" (*Ency. Bib.*, I, 70). Ezekiel uses the phrase "Adonai Jehovah" (E.VV. "Lord GOD") 217 times—over twice as often as rest of O.T.: "In each case the general sense would remain unaffected if Adonai were left out: the addition of the word therefore implies some emphasis."—Barnes, *Jl. of Theolog. Studies*, Oct., 1933, 373. In xl-xlviii the phrase occurs 17 times, commencing with the consecration of the altar, xliii, 18.

⁴⁶ Ezekiel builds on the situation recorded in 2 Sa. vi, 13 ff.; 1 Ch. xvi, 39; xxi, 29; 2 Ch. i, 3-5, whether historical or *ben trovato*.

⁴⁷ *Contra*, Redpath says, "Here certain Aaronic houses are degraded and counted with the rest of the tribe of Levi. Nothing

sequence of his regulations the prophet must be allowed his word — "Remove the mitre . . . this shall not be the same: make high the lowly, and make low the high" (xxi, 26); and this is not an overture but an "overturn," applying not to Zadokites (who are not made low), or mitre-less non-Zadokites, but exactly fitting a high priesthood transferred to a tribe of which Moses spake nothing, and a priesthood not reckoned after the order of Aaron. Section xlv, 10-16 is not a tentative step towards the Aaronic priesthood, but its disestablishment in favour of the rightful priest who was David's Lord and Son: "for it was clear beforehand (*πρόδηλον*) that our Lord⁴⁸ sprang out of Judah" (Gen. xlix, 10; Is. xi, 1; Mic. v. 2).

Concerning this Lord, we are told, the prophets inquired and searched diligently; and the finding embodied in Ezekiel's dry code, with the impossibility of grasping its postulates except as inspired advance on the Priestly Code, appears in a statement incomprehensible from the critical standpoint. The Mosaic ritual directs, "If any one shall sin unwittingly . . . if the anointed priest shall sin . . . then let him offer . . . a sin-offering. . . And the skin of the bullock and all its flesh . . .

⁴⁸ Farrar notes that Heb. vii, 14 has first occurrence in N.T. of this expression standing alone as a name for Christ; also that the word for "high priest" occurs 17 times in Heb., but in no other Epistle.—*Cambridge Bible*, 122, 79.

said here or elsewhere compels us to maintain that every Levite was a priest."—*Westminster Comm.*, 242. Cp. "Levi who receiveth tithes," Heb. vii, 9 with 5. Ezekiel knew of Aaronic claims (Dt. x, 6; Jos. xxiv, 33; 1 Sa. ii, 28; xii, 6, 8) and of "the register of the house of Israel" (xiii, 9) by which thirty-five years later Zerubbabel tested the claims of Aaronids (Ezr. ii, 62; cp. Jos., *C. Ap.*, i, 7); and already in xl, 46 (cp. xliii, 19) he has, by limiting the altar-priesthood to sons of Zadok, silently but deliberately relegated other Aaronids, the "priests" of the previous verse, to the remanent "sons of Levi" addressed in xlv, 13. If the prophet's words camouflage this effect (cp. xl, 45 with xlv, 5), it is through realisation of their revolutionary import, not indifference to Aaron; but his reticence on the mystery of "the priesthood being changed," explicable only by a Christian writer, has been used to overturn O.T. history.

shall he carry forth without the camp . . . and burn it" (Lev. iv, 1-12).⁴⁹ The same procedure obtains at the consecration of Ezekiel's altar (xliii, 21), but that finished, an announcement is made foreign to Moses but heralded in xx, 40-41—"I will accept you, saith Adonai Jehovah"—and restriction on the eating of the sin-offering vanishes away: the priest ceremonially defiled "shall offer his sin-offering, saith Adonai Jehovah. *And it shall be to them for an inheritance; I am their inheritance. . . They*⁵⁰ *shall eat . . . the sin-offering*" (xliv, 25-29). The writer of Hebrews saw the force of this direction from the prophet who fed on "a roll of a book": "Lo, I am come (in the roll of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God. . . By which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. . . We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle" (x, 7 ff.; xiii, 10 ff.). Wherefore, his argument continues, as formerly the sin-offering, when carried through the camp to be burned, might sanctify the people (Lev. vi, 27; Ezek. xlvi, 20), Jesus also suffered, not in the sanctuary, but where he might sanctify the people, "without the gate"—or "in the appointed place" of Ezekiel's plan, between camp and city.⁵¹

⁴⁹ When the priests themselves were in fault, "they could not take upon themselves the sins of those for whom atonement was being made (could not incorporate them with their own being through eating the flesh of the victim), so as to cancel the sin and impart sanctification to the sinner."—Keil, *Biblical Archaeology*, I, 304-5.

⁵⁰ The pronoun is emphatic in the Hebrew.

⁵¹ Heb. xiii, 10-14 affords no reason why the people (the "Hebrews," "primarily the Jewish people, whom alone the writer has in mind," Farrar, 80, 190) should be sanctified without historical Jerusalem, since the Mosaic holy camp (= "the holy city" of historical Jerusalem) included the people (now exhorted to "go forth" from the city-camp). But Ezekiel's city is without the camp; while "without the gate" is synonymous with "in the suburbs" (xlviii, 15-17; 30-34). "The appointed place" for burning the sin-offering (xliii, 21) as "appointed" over the border of the holy territory, can be only the suburbs, strangely alone among the oblation-sections in being defined without

Thus the key of the Old Testament reveals the supposed father of Judaism a disciple of "our Lord"; the tabernacle of "one . . . even Moses" is his background, the shadow from which he turns to "a better covenant," "a more excellent ministry," "better sacrifices," "the true tabernacle," "the sanctuary" of Salem, "the city that is to be," and "the great shepherd of the sheep," "appointed heir of all things." His scheme is not a first sketch but a last, a Messianic picture of "the camp of the sanctuary (*τῶν ἁγίων*), and the beloved city" (Rev. xx, 9), a faith's ideal—"the substance of things hoped for, the demonstration of things not seen"—expressible alike in words from New Testament or Old:

"Our passover hath been sacrificed . . . And lo, the Lamb standing on the Mount Zion." "Ye are come to Mount Zion and the city of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem and the ten thousands, to the assemblage of angels and the church of the firstborn . . . and to the mediator of a new covenant . . . the author and finisher of the faith."

"Thy people offer themselves willingly in the day of thy power.

In the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning
Thou hast the dew of thy youth.

Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent,

Thou art a priest for ever

After the order of Melchizedek.

Adonai at thy right hand . . .

Shall judge among the nations."

"Save with thy right hand and answer us! God hath spoken in his holiness: I will exult; I will portion out Shechem . . . Judah is my sceptre."⁵²

CAMERON MACKAY.

⁵² 1 Cor. v, 7; Rev. xiv, 1; Heb. xii, 22-24, 2; Ps. cx, 3-6; lx, 5-7 and cviii, 6-8.

explanation. Ezekiel's city, as centred on Bethlehem, includes in its northern suburbs part of ancient Jerusalem: cp. "Mount Zion on the sides of the north" (Ps. xlviii, 2).

ART. II.—MAXIMUS OF TYRE—A PLATONIC
PREACHER.

THE works of Maximus of Tyre were among those brought to Italy by John Lascar from the salvage of the libraries of the Eastern Empire. Of the scholars of the fifteenth century, everyone got as much Greek as he could, and was not nicely critical of its quality. Greek manuscripts as such were sought and acquired; and it is fortunate for posterity that these scholars cared little or nothing for the standard of a "classical" period; the collections were brought in bulk and ungraded. It would be reckless to deny that later habits of criticism have on the whole brought the best to the top, like apples on a costermonger's barrow; but the less impressive specimens have their value as illustrating something of the history of thought among ordinary persons: one does not get a true picture of general culture by studying only museum pieces. Not even the most enthusiastic and narrow-minded editor could maintain that Maximus of Tyre was a genius or that he made (or even aimed at making) a permanent mark on the history of thought; he shows merely what appealed to the rather intelligent classes of his period.

An obscure passage of Eusebius seems to suggest that he was among the teachers of Marcus Aurelius. Jerome in his translation by a different punctuation merely says that he became known about 170 A.D. If Eusebius really meant that Maximus taught the Emperor he was possibly confusing him with Maximus the Stoic, who is mentioned with esteem in the *Meditations*. Later authorities say that he stayed at Rome in the reign of Commodus. These statements are sufficient for the purpose: they place him a little after the middle of the second century.

Rather more obscure is the question where he taught. The oldest MS. divides his works into two sections, first addresses "of the first visit to Rome," and secondly, "philosophical writings." The most recent editor, Hobein, regards these as duplicate titles, and would apparently make them both apply to the whole series. The question is insoluble. It seems improbable that having achieved the journey to Rome Maximus would have contented himself with the delivery of the six addresses of the first section; a few phrases are more consistent with delivery in Greece. But the matter shews a purely Greek culture; all the instances are taken from Greek literature and the history of Greece or countries in touch with Greece. But that proves nothing, for the intellectual society of Rome was Greek, and a Greek lecturer certainly would not have paid a Roman audience the doubtful compliment of adapting his address to a merely Latin provinciality. As a mere hypothesis, it is probable that he delivered his lectures in many places. His travels extended to Arabia.

The extant works consist of forty-one pieces, each of which would take half-an-hour or less in delivery; and it is abundantly clear that they were meant to be heard and not read. The MS. was handed by Lorenzo de' Medici to his nephew, Cosmo Pazzi, Archbishop of Florence, for translation into Latin; and the translation of the title, *Sermones*, suggests the aptest English word, *Sermons*. Maximus was a Platonist, with no more of eclecticism than is inevitable in a person who is not merely an academic specialist; but his Platonism is adapted for the ordinary person; the dialectic vanishes, and the more obscure Dialogues are almost ignored. There is no exposition suitable for a class of students; it is Platonism directed to edification; it is indeed Platonism not as a philosophy in the sense of the student but as a religion, or something very like religion, for an educated society.

But behind the Platonism is a very vital paganism, by no means a decaying carcase which produced a fungoid efflorescence, as the decaying paganism of Rome produced Cæsar-

worship. Maximus accepts quite simply and honestly the Gods of Greece. He sometimes uses, as Plato does, the language of monotheism; but his supreme God was not an abstraction; it was Zeus. Zeus is styled "father," the chief of all titles of affection; and men became Zeus-like by imitating that quality of Zeus which preserves and loves as a father. "This is the human imitation of divine virtue: in the sphere of the divine it is known as right or justice or by similar mystical and heavenly names; in the sphere of man, as love¹ or benevolence, or by other like names, gentle and human."² Thus does Maximus rationalise, or moralise, the Zeus of Homer, and naïvely rejects a literal view. Zeus is not father of all because he came down from Heaven in the image of a bird or as a shower of gold and so forth, and engaged with mortal women "for then his progeny would be but scanty." Truly the Zeus of the poets was a difficult subject for moralisation, but Maximus escapes from the difficulty with some success. And he finds the belief in God universal, though conceptions may differ, just as conceptions of good and evil differ. "But that there is one God, King and Father of all, and many Gods, the children of God, who hold sway with him, is the view of the Greek, the barbarian, the dweller inland, the dweller by the sea, the wise, the unwise."³ The eye may see the sun, the ear hear the thunder. "But what are these perfect and fair objects, these circuits, changes, variations of the air, the birth of living creatures, the growth of harvest? These are the works of God, replies the Soul. They need the artist; they make manifest his art. If there have arisen in the course of ages some two or more without notion of God, mean, unperceiving,

¹ *φιλία*, not *ἔρως*: though M. uses what seems to modern ears an odd phrase, *ἐραστῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. He has apparently no knowledge of the useful word *ἀγάπη* which avoids in N.T. Greek that ambiguity which revives in English.

² vi, 1. The editions give several different orders. These references follow the arrangement of Davis and Dübner which is adopted by L. and S.

³ xvii, 5.

with no clear vision of the eye, with no sure perception by the ear, with mutilated souls, unreasoning, without lineage, without fruit, as it were lions without strength, oxen without horns, birds without wings, even from these you will learn the divine. Against their will they know, against their will they speak.”⁴ This passage, whose terrific accumulation of epithets recalls a stylistic habit of St. Paul, is a fair example of the preacher’s style, with its Asiatic emotionalism bursting through the Greek culture. Obviously there is more rhetoric than argumentation. But it is good of its kind, and doubtless served its purpose.

Two centuries before Maximus, in a passage which to modern ears has an unpleasant, cynical ring, it had been written that we must excuse the writers of fables and wonders so far as this tends to preserve the spirit of religion in the masses. Maximus, speaking to a superior audience, puts the case less crudely. He asks whether poets or philosophers have given the better account of the Gods. His answer is to identify the essence of poetry and philosophy.

“What is poetry but philosophy ancient in time, metrical in form, mythological in method? What is philosophy but poetry, modern in time, free from the restraint of verse, clearer in method?”⁵ And he gives a parallel, curious though not very precise. Ancient medicine was concerned with the simple task of healing wounds; but now human bodies the simplicity of the older life has developed into an evil complication, and the healing art must take many forms. So the primitive soul needed fables; but the soul, become cleverer and grown to manhood, growing critical of stories and no longer content with riddles, stripped philosophy of its veil and made use of naked words. Homer’s stories are allegories like the myths of Plato; and poets and philosophers (Epicurus is excepted as being neither—Maximus displays a theological hatred of Epicurus) had the same purpose. Maximus is suspicious of modern methods. “Of things which through human weakness are not

⁴ xvii, 5.

⁵ x, 1.

clearly seen, myth is the more seemly interpreter. If later generations have seen more than those which went before I account them happy in their vision: but if with no increase of knowledge they have merely changed the riddles of the old writers into plain stories, I fear lest they may be accused of discussing what should be reserved.”⁶ “Think of Zeus as the oldest and supreme mind which all things follow and obey; of Athene, as wisdom; of Apollo, as the sun: of Poseidon as the spirit passing over land and seas, regulating their conflict and their concord.” The stories which gave such offence and supplied so much argument to Christian writers are here ignored: the subordinate gods are charged each of them with some separate function for the good order of the world and the benefit of humanity.

But between the subordinate gods and humanity there is need of intermediaries. Maximus devotes two sermons to the daemon of Socrates. He is convinced, and expects his hearers to admit the existence of oracles, and knows nothing of their general cessation; is it not probable therefore that Socrates, “pure in body, noble in soul, exact in conduct, great in prudence, accomplished in speech, pious towards the gods, reverent towards man” should have some special guidance? As the Greek gods lost their gross anthropomorphism, intermediaries were necessary to secure man’s relation to them; and to Maximus the daemons appeared to be a real source of comfort and protection. “Some of them are healers of disease, some counsellors in perplexity, some messengers of what is unseen, some fellow-workers in art, some our companions in journeyings.”⁷ The divine power preserves one by the responses of Oracles, another by the omens of birds, another by dreams, another by voices, another by divination of sacrifices.” These diversities of operation are necessary because virtue, though full of resource, is commingled with matter which is evil, obscure, full of uncertainty, which men call chance, a blind

⁶ x, 5.

⁷ xiv, 8.

and unstable force. For Maximus the soul that is wicked is no tabernacle for a daemon. He knew nothing of the doctrine which emerges in other pagan writers and develops strongly in Christian literature, of evil spirits, of either general or particular influence. His theory of the origin of evil is that it is due to matter. His purpose did not require him to work out this doctrine logically, and perhaps he was incapable, as many greater thinkers have been incapable, of so doing. But he is convinced that no evil can come from God. But the existence of evil moral as well as physical forces itself into notice. "That which is born, as soon as it is delivered, is it not full of lamentation and crying? When it advances and grows up to the flower of youth is it not wild and unmanageable? If it progress to maturity it is uncontrollable by reason of the flames of passion. If it reach old age it dies by degress and is extinguished, a useless guest of the soul, hard to please, miserable, incompetent, bearing neither the shower nor the wind, nor the sun, blaming the seasons of heaven, and fighting against Zeus. . . . And if you turn to the soul, you will see a multitude of diseases pouring upon it, grief, fear, anger, envy.⁸ These evils must not be ascribed to God: they are inherent in matter, and matter was not the creation of God: and these partial evils are universal good. The explanation is a Heraclitean flux; death does not end life, but life emerges out of death: "What men call death is nothing but the beginning of immortality; wherein bodies perish according to their own law and by time, but the soul is called up to its own place and life."

This is purely Platonic, in the sense that if Maximus had been asked for his authority he could have quoted something in Plato for his support. But it is Platonism transformed from a speculative enquiry into a dogmatic religion, a religion designed for the comfort of the individual soul; and it is to be noticed that the view of the body's inferiority shews no trace of developing into Antinomianism. On the side of asceticism, the other extreme, he commends the austere life of Diogenes,

⁸ xli, 3.

“a most exact lover of pleasure” who, “avoiding all trouble, free, careless, fearless, sorrowless, counted the whole earth his abode, the only man whose pleasures were unguarded, unrationed, unlimited.”⁹ The prolonged ecstasy of Aristeas also signifies the escape of the soul from the pleasures and affections of the body so that it may apprehend truth. Whether Maximus believed in this ecstasy as an historical event is dubious; he himself claims but three visions, and is tantalisingly brief in his account of them. “I have seen the Dioscuri upon a ship, shining stars, guiding the ship in a storm: I have seen Asclepius but not in a dream: I have seen Heracles, in a waking vision.”¹⁰ By the Dioscuri he clearly means no more than St. Elmo’s fires. What was the nature of the other vision is obscure. The passage, at the close of one of the Sermons, is one where the test may be corrupt, or even seriously defective; or it may represent a rhetorical artifice, to startle his hearers, and leave them wondering. But the isolation of this instance shows how far Maximus was from the later developments of mystical Neo-Platonism.

We have seen Maximus’ view that good is of God, and evil of the soul, or rather of that part of the soul which is passionate and defiled by matter. This wicked part of the soul needs a corrector; virtue, a saviour. Thus virtue is not acquired by art or learning; it must be given by divine *μολρα*. It is dangerous to apply terms of Christian thought to pagan writings, but perhaps the nearest equivalent to this platonic word is “grace.” God inspires the poet, the diviner, the oracle: but all these are of less value than virtue. The divine is perfection, self-sufficiency, and strength; therefore it must bestow good, for he who has but gives not has no good will. The divine, possessing the best of all things, virtue, must bestow it. But the good God does not bestow an easy life, and trains through suffering. Maximus takes two instances, both of them conventional; but his application is worth quotation. “It was Heaven that

⁹ iii, 9

¹⁰ xv, 7.

constrained him to wander as a beggar, clothed in rags, begging fragments, beaten, kicked and despised among the feasting. All this was sent to him by God in love (*φιλία*); not by Poseidon, angry that Ulysses had blinded his son; not by Helios, in wrath at the slaying of the oxen. Poseidon could not have such love for a son so savage and inhospitable, Helios could not be so miserably grudging of his oxen; no, these were the ordinances of Zeus. Was it not the same Zeus who permitted not his own son Heracles to live in idleness and luxury, but rescued him from pleasure . . . Had Zeus the power to extend a night to the length of three, but no power to preserve the son whom he begot in that night from this toilsome life? But this was not his will; and Zeus cannot will anything but what is noblest."¹¹ So, with a quaint preservation of the less edifying circumstances of the tale, Heracles, the byword for grossness and almost a figure of fun in Greek tragedy, had become a subject of edifying declaration, a destroyer of the evil things which were upon the earth.¹²

So too fates, furies, and evil powers must be explained; they cannot come from God; they are but "specious concealments of human wickedness, whereof men attribute the cause to the divine, and the fates and the furies. Let such men have place in tragedies . . . but keep such vanities out of the drama of life." Man's responsibility for wickedness and good alike must be maintained, and is not removed by divine inspiration, an indwelling spirit, or by the existence of the power of divination. The sphere of the divine power is the general, that of man the particular. God does not explain the whole truth—the ambiguous oracles are evidence of this, for man's wit must interpret them. The oracles of God and the wisdom of man are things akin (Maximus apologises for the audacity of this statement) and there is a resemblance between God's voice and human virtue. The antinomy between free will and necessity is not a subject for exhaustive treatment in a single sermon, and

¹¹ xxxviii, 7.

¹² This development is much older than Maximus.

Maximus is content to suggest analogies on a subject which presumably will come to an end only with humanity; he is concerned only to preserve a basis of morals.

A sermon on prayer deals with a subject which presents difficulties to every religious mind. He rejects all prayer for temporal advantages, for things which are in the sphere of providence or fate or chance or art, a fourfold division clear enough for a popular audience but based upon a metaphysic hardly consistent with what he says elsewhere; but God's providence is of the whole, and he will not be deflected, even if he have regard for particular events. To pray against fate is absurd, and here we have texts from Homer supporting the old Greek notion that the gods themselves were subject to fate. Chance is unreasonable, frensied, without foresight, ebbing and flowing like the Euripus; who would pray to a thing so unstable? And as for the sphere of art or human capacity, the craftsman relies on his skill, not on prayer, and the good man possessing virtue has no need to pray, for if a man be worthy, he will attain what he needs without prayer; if he be not worthy, he will not attain it, even though he prays. Thus Maximus approaches the Epicurean view of the gods. But, it is answered, Socrates went down to the Pireaus to pray; yes, and Pythagoras prayed, and Plato, and every other man who drew near to the gods; but the philosopher's prayer is not a request for what is not his; it is a consorting with the gods. Here Maximus uses a word which Clement of Alexandria also uses, with an apology for its boldness.¹³ The model of all Christian prayers contains but one petition for temporal benefits, and that one early expositors explained in a spiritual sense. Modern thought would probably restrict the sphere of prayer less closely than Maximus does: but he displays a sanity and a resource which would cut the ground away from

¹³ Clem. Al. Strom., vii, 7. There are several parallels of phrase in this passage, where Clement controverts the views of the Prodicians.

many popular misunderstandings which still exist and still have to be dislodged.

There is a quest which forces itself upon the readers of all secular literature of this period, the quest for traces of Christian influence. In Maximus it is a peculiarly tantalising one. In thought, and sometimes even in phrase, he gets very near to the New Testament; but there is no actual instance which is sufficiently definite to form a ground for supposing that he had read even parts of it: and many instances would be needed to provide a ground of any security. That St. Paul may have heard preaching very similar in tendency is in no way improbable, for there is little or nothing in Maximus's doctrine which is essentially of the second century: on the other hand a professed stylist would be repelled by the lack of finish in New Testament Greek, and would be incredulous that any good thing could come out of it. Maximus indeed is peculiarly isolated, more isolated even than his not very great importance seems to justify: no secular writer apparently quotes him: and except in the slight allusions already mentioned he is ignored by the Christians. This is explicable; there would be no point in claiming one who presumably had the opportunity of being an actual Christian as a soul naturally Christian. He seems, moreover, to have reacted but little to the more recent currents of Greek thought. If he had been influenced by Alexandria the influence would have shown itself much more strongly: his tendency to allegorise is not enough to prove a connexion. Neither do the mystery-religions appear to have attracted him, and for the bulls and crocodiles of Egyptian religion he has a contempt. He preferred to stand upon the ancient ways of Plato and the older philosophers, and to draw his instances from Homer, and from history which was already long past. And doubtless he found an audience with a similar literary background for whom his limited supply of allusions would suffice. So the Christian preacher a few years back could assume in his hearers a knowledge of the Bible; that, with the widened extent and corresponding thinness of education is a thing of the past.

Maximus represents the stability rather than the development of Greek thought: but his sermons suggest a sincerity that would appeal to an audience of pious, if not very adventurous, souls, making the best of their old beliefs, and not prepared for the plunge into a new faith. But these beliefs had reached so fluid a form as to shew that the task of the Christian Platonists was a less difficult one in some ways than the task of the Christian Jews. The Hellenised cities, intellectually though not morally, would provide a less uncongenial soil than Jerusalem.

L. J. MORISON.

ART. III.—THEISM AND THE ETHICS OF
HARTMANN.

Bibliography. Nicolai Hartmann, *Ethik*, 1926. English Translation by STANTON COIT. Ethics. 3 vols. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1932).

THE investigation of the basis of ethics has shown itself of such importance to the philosophy of religion that any new avenue of approach to the problem seems worth exploring: and not least when the avenue lies through a system of ethics which, not without justice, has been described as the most comprehensive since Aristotle. In the past the relation between theism and ethics has been conceived variously. Ethics, for example, has been made to depend upon God in the sense that a thing is right because God wills it and for no other reason; and therefore to exist at all only because God happens to require that it should. Such is the implication of the teaching of Duns Scotus and the later schoolmen. Or, from another point of view, God has been made a corollary of ethics: as by Immanuel Kant, for whom God only existed because the moral consciousness required that he should, and then only because the phenomena of human life do not happen, so far as we can see, to conform to the dictates of justice. Or, God and ethics have been considered to be entirely distinct and without connection, as they would be by a consistent deist whose only reason for believing in the existence of God was an interpretation of the nature of causality positing the validity of the cosmological argument: ethics then being a purely human phenomenon. Or, finally, ethics and theism have been thought to be not only independent but mutually exclusive, the contradiction between the two being so absolute that, if God exists, then ethics is an illusion, and, conversely, if the moral consciousness is valid, God is an illusion. It is because he

conceives the last of these theses to be the correct one that Nicolai Hartmann's ethical system makes a specially interesting and somewhat crucial study for those who are under the impression that they believe, and rightly believe, both in the existence of God and in the validity of ethics. The attitude is not in any sense a new one. It has, indeed, often been clasped, in theory at least, to the arms of religion itself, and is an essential dogma of one of the greatest theistic faiths in the world to-day. But Dr. Hartmann's presentation of the thesis is backed by an austere severity of argument which challenges exact investigation ere it can be rejected. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is to examine the grounds for this alleged contradiction between theism and ethics, and to attempt some assessment of their cogency.

Dr. Hartmann's work, we are told, is a product of the years preceding, during and following the Great War, when the manifestations of the human ethos must have provided strange thoughts for an ethicist. The intellectual climate induced by the War was, it is well known, one in which preconceived ideas had little chance of survival. The assumptions of previous generations were the assumptions which issued in world chaos. They were therefore fallacious, probably, and certainly unprofitable. Even organised thought, like Mr. Shaw's *Black Girl*, was inclined to the view that there was no point in preserving a baby which had been washed in such dirty bath-water. An entirely fresh start should be made. To this mood there coincided a movement of thought amongst many philosophers away from the metaphysical impasse which had been shown to be implicit in the system of Kant, and Hartmann found himself moving, not unaccompanied, to a position nearer to that of common-sense. Metaphysics must not be built up merely from the point of view of the perceiver: something must be said for the things perceived. Philosophy, in fact, is to be built upon phenomena, of which the phenomena of thinking and consciousness are only a part. It is the application of this "phenomenological" method in the field of ethics that forms the object of Dr. Hartmann's work. Accept-

ing as he finds them in the world the deliverances of the moral consciousness, he can find rest neither in the utilitarian nor in the Kantian explanation of them. The nature of the good no more explains the cogency of thought than the cogency of thought divulges the content of the good. And so he turns to Plato. An analysis of the problems raised and dealt with in the "Meno" produces for him an Hegelian synthesis of the truths presented in both the positions he has rejected. The Platonic doctrine of anamnesis, he claims, is really the historical discovery of the *a priori* element in the whole realm of human knowledge, as well in ethics as in logic or geometry. The real ground of the validity of ethics is the *a priori* perception by the moral consciousness of absolute values, and the mode of existence of ethical values is the same as that of pure mathematics or logical relations which persist the same throughout the changes of individual existence and which, though they may never be exemplified in actuality, permit of absolute *a priori* discernment. These ethical values, in fact, can never in one sense be actualised, since they are ideas like the ideas of triangularity or squareness, and can no more be actualised than they. Hartmann thus arrives at a world in which there are different orders of being. For, he says, to say that real actuality is alone self-existent is to make a double confusion between actuality and Being, and between ideality and subjectivity. A thing can "Be" without being actualised in space and time, and such a "Being" need not mean merely subjective existence in the mind of this or that person. This is the order of Being which belongs to ethical values: they are absolute and self-existent, though not actual. The good for man consists in the actualisation of a type laid up, as it were, in heaven, and is valid for him because he perceives *a priori* the contents of the realm of self-existent values and sees that they have a claim on and a cogency for him. Man's place in the universe is that of a mediator between the realm of values and the realm of actuality. He is the connecting-link between the Ought, the absolute self-existence of which he perceives *a priori*, and the world of Is in which he lives, and he achieves

the connection by the attribute of freedom which he possesses and by which alone it is possible for moral values to be actualised. Of the brilliant survey of the field of moral values, their contradictions and syntheses, which is considered to be his most original and illuminating contribution to phenomenological ethics, and of his acute treatment of the problem of freedom, we must say nothing. Our task is to review the contradiction which he finds between belief in theism and in the validity of ethics, and to decide, if possible, on which side the truth lies: whether, with Dr. Hartmann, we are to say that ethics can only be believed in if God is not, or with the theists that not only is there no ground for believing such a contradiction to exist, but that as a matter of fact the belief in the validity of ethics depends ultimately upon a theistic view of the universe, and just for that reason the cogency of the ethical imperative is held to be in some sort a guarantee for the existence of the being without which its own cogency becomes inexplicable and irrational.

The antinomy which Dr. Hartmann declares to exist between theism and ethics is discovered for him by an examination of the nature of finalistic causality, the causality proper to purposive action, and of the implications of this for cosmic teleology. In finalistic, as in natural causality, there prevails in the series of cause and effect a thorough dependence of member upon member. In both there is ordered sequence. But, whereas in natural causality the later members of the series are determined by the earlier, and dependence follows the direction of the time-process, in the finalistic series this is reversed and the dependence is that of earlier upon later members. The relation of end and means is, in fact, substituted for that of cause and effect, and the end, the last entity in the series, determines the natures of the means. Further the end, the prior existence of which is posited, exists in a different mode, that is, as an idea set up by anticipation: and this is a feat possible only to consciousness. The end, then, is the first link in the finalistic nexus. The second link is the backward determination, still in the mode of idea, of the means by the

end, beginning with the member of the means series lying nearest to the end and finishing only at the member which is next to the determining subject. The actualisation or real attainment of the end through the series of means forms the third link in the nexus, and now at last the relation of means to end, which in the purposive consciousness had been reversed, is changed back into a straightforward relation of cause and effect running in line with the time-series. The end set up by consciousness here impinges on the world of actuality and is actualised by the ordinary process of cause and effect. Now, it is essential to Hartmann's system that, although finalistic determination has the power to interrupt and to affect causal determination, yet causal determination is a necessary condition without which final determination could not exist at all, since without the universal reign of natural causality there could be no foresight and without the possibility of foresight purposive activity would be impossible. The finalistic nexus cannot override the nexus of natural causality, though it can be actualised by working through it and using it as its means. Natural causality can exist without finalism, but finalism cannot exist without natural causality. The field of purposive action must be a universe and not a chaos. Now purposive action, or teleology, as we know it, is peculiar to man, for in him alone do we meet with a setting-up of ends as well as a providence and foreordination. Man alone in our experience has the capacity to strive after actualising something which has been pre-determined for actualisation by his own mind. The series of natural causes have no purpose of their own. Indeed, it is precisely because of this that they can be drawn into the finalistic nexus in the consciousness of man, which, taken in itself, has no reference to them. If we apply this, as it has so often been applied, on a cosmic scale, what is the result? What is the implication of a cosmic teleology? Whatever precise form the notion may take, it is rooted in the belief that ultimately final determination is prior to natural determination: that for the macrocosm, as for man, the end is present in idea determining the means of actualisation. And,

clearly, if this final determination is coextensive with the universe, the subordinate finalism of man must vanish. Where the ends, and therefore the results of the world process are already fixed, man is deprived of all range for any determination emanating from himself. He is in a bondage, not of his own choosing, to fixed cosmic ends. From this it follows that man is lifted metaphysically out of the realm of responsibility and accountability and that, although he may be their conveyer and actualiser, he is no longer to be thought of as an originator of values; hence that moral values, for which freedom is a necessary precondition, have no existence at all. Man as a moral being is annihilated and stands on a level with all other natural entities. Cosmic teleology, therefore, if it exists, nullifies ethics. But to this desperate conclusion, says Hartmann, we are not driven, since cosmic teleology is itself an impossible notion in this way. According to his system the fundamental law of the categories is that the lower are always more independent and unconditioned, the higher only existing in a conditioned and dependent way with the lower as their presupposition. This we saw above in the analysis of finalistic causality. Teleological metaphysics, however, must of necessity invert this law, since the higher principle (the *telos* or End) is given precedence over the lower and the causal nexus is made dependent upon the finalistic nexus of which it is the presupposition. Thus the notion of cosmic teleology is involved in a contradiction, and man's uniqueness as the originator of value reappears. If the whole universe were structurally like man, if it were like him teleologically, it would have no room for man. In a phrase, "the metaphysical humanisation of the Absolute is the moral annulment of man." Everything would be appropriated to the teleology of the cosmic process, and the means (amongst them man) would be determined in its interests. But, fortunately for man, a contradiction appears in cosmic teleology, rendering it an unnecessary and, in fact, impossible hypothesis. Therefore man is free, morality is saved, and the god of theism rejected as a hypothesis involving a contradiction. And for the theist Hartmann sets two

problems, the antinomy between cosmic and finite teleology, and that between finalistic and natural causality.

As to the first, there is in it a great deal of the old problem of predestination and free-will, and it would not be difficult to show that that problem is not so intractable as it has sometimes been supposed. Teleology, the positing of an end, is obviously not the same thing as predestination, since it must of necessity be limited in two ways in which predestination is, equally of necessity, not limited—firstly, by the power of the consciousness positing the end to effect the end posited, and, secondly, by the nature of the end itself and of the means necessary to its attainment. When we are dealing with a cosmic teleology such as is the concern of theism, only the second of these limitations applies, since the omnipotence of deity is usually assumed to be axiomatic. But even for deity the nature of the end must affect the means required to attain it, and the end may be such that it is necessary for the means to remain in another sense undetermined—to participate in the divine capacity to posit and in some degree to attain ends. In other words, if the end demands that some of the means necessary to its attainment shall possess free-will, then that is a limitation to teleological determinism imposed even upon omnipotence by the nature of the end posited. Whether that means that the attainment of the end is itself thrown into the balance and rendered hypothetical is a question interesting in itself but irrelevant to our present problem. At least it seems clear that, given the possibility of the priority of teleological determinism, the difficulty as to the antinomy of cosmic and finite teleology in principle disappears. It is the second antinomy, that between finalistic and natural causality, which seems to me to raise the crucial problem for a theistic philosophy. In our experience, we are told, natural causality is always prior to finalistic determination, and can exist independently of it; in our experience, too, we can only see finalistic determination working upon a basis already provided by the universal operation of the laws of natural causality. The structure of the universe is such that only where there is already

existing in operation the system of such natural laws of sequence is it possible for the higher laws of purposive or axiological determination to take effect, and then only by entering in upon the steady flow of cause and effect and diverting it. Therefore the universe of natural causality must exist independently of all final causality, and a cosmic purpose is inconceivable.

Here Dr. Hartmann appears to be misled partly by his own presuppositions and partly by an inconsistency in applying them. It is the nemesis of the phenomenological method that it is denied metaphysical conclusions which go beyond direct deduction from the phenomena it is itself able to grasp and analyse. Yet he says that, because in our experience final causality does not exist prior to natural causality, therefore it cannot so exist. That is a metaphysical jump and therefore an inconsistency. And further, as a nemesis of his system, where it is legitimate and proper to interpret rather than to deduce, he cannot do so. Thus it is important to observe that the necessity of causal sequence to purposive action is not merely incidental—a phenomenological observation having no implications outside itself. We do not merely find that in fact it is so, but rather realise that of necessity it must be so. If finalistic determination is to be, then there must be natural causality or foresight will be impossible. When it is put like that, does it not at once become a question whether finalistic determination is a disconnected phenomenon finding an incidental field for its exercise in the (entirely adventitious) world of natural causality, or whether the appearance of natural causality in conjunction with that of which it can be seen to be the necessary ground does not itself require further explanation as a means to an end—in fact, as itself a supreme example of the working of the teleological nexus? The famous remark of Philo in Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* is in this connection not inept: who, after he has dealt in the severest manner with the arguments for the existence of God, and not least the teleological argument, so that the orthodox Demea is scandalised into retirement from the debate, yet goes on to say, "A purpose, an intention, a design strikes every-

where the most careless, the most stupid thinker; and no man can be so hardened in absurd systems as at all times to reject it . . . All the sciences almost lead us insensibly to acknowledge a first intelligent Author; and their authority is often so much the greater as they do not directly profess that intention." Hartmann points out with some acerbity that as regards inorganic nature a criticism of cosmic teleology arose at the inception of modern natural science, and that as regards organic nature Kant's Critique of Judgment first proved it to be untenable. He goes on to add that "as regards the cosmos universally, a thorough criticism of it has not yet been made. Probably it cannot be given in general because the theory is too far removed from the phenomena to have any foothold anywhere. In general metaphysics teleology has only the character of fiction and is not to be taken seriously by philosophical science." Yet it was precisely in general, and as concerning the cosmos universally, that the teleological argument struck Hume as peculiarly impressive and in detail only that he found it could be subjected to almost indefinite formal criticism. The fact of the matter seems to be that, if in view of the difficulties of detail, a denial of purposive activity in the whole range of phenomena is made, one is driven back upon such a view as that depicted in Hardy's *Dynasts*:

"In that immense, unwitting Mind is shown

One far above forethinking; processive,

Yet superconscious; a clairvoyancy

That knows not what It knows, yet works therewith."

And, save that for Hardy even man's will is an illusion and the whole world, therefore, without exception is "unwitting purpose," that is the universe as Hartmann must conceive it. The order of nature, of causality, of mathematics, of logic—each of these is unwitting. The universe is just a series of parts which can be classified and ordered because they have an order and a classification. For their order there is no need to account, any more than there is for the self-existence of the values or for the different realms of being. We are asked to stop in the chain of causality because we have arrived at a

point in the chain which requires a different answer to that which has been given at all the other points of the chain or no answer at all. Hartmann has, in fact, arrived at his metaphysic of self-existent grades of being because he wishes to deny the possibility of metaphysic. He invents a label and calls it an explanation. It is easy for him, with his positivist outlook, to leave unaccounted for the co-existence of finite teleology and the natural causality necessary as its basis, but for those of us to whom Positivism represents little more than an escape from the serious problems of metaphysics, this co-existence demands something adequate to account for it: and the alternatives seem inevitably to be unconscious or conscious teleology.

It is impossible here to enlarge, as one should, on the nature of conscious and unconscious teleology. Hartmann is willing to admit—indeed he himself claims that teleology is bound up with consciousness, so that one would expect him to agree with the dictum that unconscious teleology, by implying a purpose which is not the purpose of any mind, implies a purpose which is not a purpose at all. Yet somewhat inconsistently he retains the view that there are unconscious purposes. What exactly is the difference between teleology (which requires consciousness) and purpose (which does not) never appears. But, in brief, it seems to me that in the last resort the phrase “unconscious purpose” is meaningless and that as a description of certain groups of phenomena it is confusing because it introduces, by false analogy from the only kind of purpose we know, terms only appropriate to that kind of purpose in connection with another kind which is claimed to be the contradictory of it. It defines those groups of phenomena by negating the one characteristic which we know to be the *sine quâ non* of the other groups of phenomena and yet labelling both with the same name. The term “unconscious purpose,” as also Hardy’s “immanent will,” is, in fact, used as the description of purposive phenomena in which the agent of consciousness necessary to will the purpose is known not to be present. It means that these groups of

phenomena would be purposive if only a conscious will could be found present in them: but unfortunately it is all too clear that it cannot. Therefore, as the phenomena present the strange appearance of being both purposive and unconscious, it is merely honest to use both terms in their description. That is perfectly true. But it does not follow that, because both these contradictory adjectives must be used in describing the phenomena as phenomena, therefore a phrase embodying both (and swallowing the contradiction whole) is an adequate explanation of the process by which the phenomena came to occur. A billiard ball does not follow a certain course because of a conscious or unconscious will of its own, but because of the conscious, though possibly ineffective, will of someone else: and therefore the phrase "immanent will" would be a peculiarly unfortunate description of its vagaries. Yet the movements of the ball, taken purely as isolated phenomena, present precisely the same features as the phenomena which are usually described in such a way. Thus, referring back to the passage of the *Dynasts*, the workings of the Immanent Will are precisely those of the billiard ball when it is considered as an unconnected phenomenon. Yet, why is the *Dynasts* considered to be a great tragedy? Surely because the utterances of the Spirit of the Years, such as that quoted above, are deemed as a matter of fact to be untrue, and the appearance of that hypothetical *deus ex machina* strictly irrelevant, since, as also in *Tess*, the urgency of the situation and its tragic pathos are due, not to a purely academic conflict between the appearance of conscious purpose and the reality of unconscious striving, but to the clash between purpose (of any sort) and good purpose. In other words the tragedy consists, not in the world's turning out to have no significance at all in spite of the fact that it thinks it has and looks as though it has, but in its being, as *Tess* is stated to be, the "sport of the immortals." For I cannot but think that the tragic pathos of Hardy, as well as the grim defiance of Bertrand Russell, must lose something of its grandeur when it is set against the coldness of an "immanent will"; and that is why the *Prometheus*

Vinctus of Aeschylus seems to me to be a greater play than the *Dynasts*. Hardy, indeed, suggests in the closing scene of the *Dynasts*, that the Immanent Will will at last attain to consciousness and so justify the striving and travail of its less fortunate days. That is perhaps a sound cosmodicy, but one doubts the intelligibility of the process it describes.

But, leaving aside this question of conscious and unconscious purpose, is it not possible that the facts of ethics themselves have more bearing on the metaphysical issue than Hartmann is willing either to admit or even to discuss? If we grant him that the ethical *a priori* is a thing sensed and that it stands in no need of Divine justification, that again is a good description of phenomena. But it is still possible that the moral phenomena have metaphysical implications even though, in considering the nature of the human ethos, it is unnecessary to think of these. The metaphysician should not be reduced, willy-nilly, to the positivist position because an ethicist considers that metaphysics are irrelevant to an ethical system. The word "ought" is, I suppose, the crux of the ethical problem. If therefore we consider the fact of duty which it implies, we can see, I think, that though it may be true that we perform a certain act because it is our duty, yet it is only our duty to perform that act for another reason, namely, because that act is a good act. To consider no act moral unless it is performed without predilection, as Kant did, implies that no one could want to perform an act and therefore enjoying performing it, unless he saw some reason for performing it other than the bare fact of its obligatoriness, which does not of itself supply a reason to one who does not see that it is right to do one's duty. In other words I cannot enjoy doing my duty, merely because I see it is my duty, but only if I see (however dimly) why it is my duty: unless, that is to say, I see that it is good and, only because it is good, obligatory also. But this means that there is no duty which is not a duty for some reason—namely, that its performance will bring about some measure of good: as Kant unwittingly proved to be true by demonstrating the impossibility of separating the pure right-

ness of an act from its consequences. In other words the idea of "good" is, as Mr. Joseph has argued in his book, *Some Problems in Ethics*, prior to that of "right" or "duty": so much so that Plato seems to have been correct in saying that only a complete knowledge of what is good can produce a certainly true knowledge of what is right. This, the ethical counterpart of the dictum that you cannot know any one fact completely until you know all facts completely, both in themselves and in their relations one with another (since all facts are inter-related), is the reason which makes casuistry an impossible science and which shows that the moral life, as it must be lived on earth, bears a closer relation to a poem or a work of art than to a legal argument or a piece of applied logic. However true it may be in theory (as Dr. Rashdall maintained with considerable vigour that it is) that an ethical calculus is possible, in living that calculus is an impossibility both (saving Dr. Rashdall's grace) because of the imponderability and incommensurability of some of the elements and because of the complexity of the factors involved. It is indeed only by an arbitrary limitation of the connections between acts and the fields of causes and consequences that even in single instances casuistry ever becomes possible, so that in the main the knowledge of principles and the "feel" of a situation are actually the ways by which we must judge of the rightness of an act. We become moral much in the same way in which a poet becomes poetic or a musician musical, not by analysis but by synthesis. We learn, but not by rote, or even by rule of three. With most of this Dr. Hartmann would, I think, in principle agree. But here it is that his severe separation of metaphysics (other than phenomenological metaphysics which are, as Kant saw, a contradiction) and ethics falls to the ground. For, if what it is right for us to do depends upon the nature of good, then surely it is true that what is right will depend very largely upon the circumstances of life in which the good is to be realised: and one cannot know what those circumstances are unless one has a metaphysic. It may indeed be doubted whether, apart from what may be called

an optimistic view of the universe, there can be any real reason to do one thing rather than another: whether in fact, as A. E. Taylor points out in criticism of a passage of Laird, the realisation of value, when one is convinced that "sooner or later there will be a morrow when all the persons, nay, all the sentient beings we can conceivably affect in any way by anything we do, will be dead," is not itself rather a proof of the inherent irrationality of human conduct than an indication that the perishability of things human leaves at least one value untouched—the judgment that it is better to live and to live well than to die or to live badly. The deliverances of our highest nature, it is agreed, show us that it is better so to live. Our moral consciousness claims more than that, that it is a positive duty: and to say that one ought to live such a kind of life rather than such another kind is not merely another way of saying that the one kind of life is better than the other. The "ought" can only be inserted where a reason can be given and where the eternal is always vanishing in retreat before the temporal, Ecclesiastes has after all the last word—the world of values is "vanity and a striving after wind" unless the world of actuality is the sort of world where values are, in Sorley's phrase, conserved and not merely actualised in a fleeting way upon a temporary setting. It seems to me, then, that the metaphysic which we adopt will not only make a considerable difference to our scale of values and the amount of the emphasis we place on each (the "height" we give them, Hartmann would say), as for example in the relation between moral, aesthetic and intellectual values, and between these and the spiritual values which go "beyond morality" to that attitude which Dr. Kirk describes in his Bampton Lectures on the "Vision of God," but that, even beyond this, in the last resort metaphysic alone can show if ethics itself has a rational basis at all, or whether it is irrational and arbitrary—in which case it would not be an imperative and would thus not in any proper sense be described as ethics any more than the Nominalist ethics dictated by the irrational God should have been so described.

Much more could—and should—be said for a full treatment of this subject concerning the actual scheme of values proposed by Hartmann and their relation (if any) to a *Summum Bonum*. We should find much ground for reflection in the unsolved antinomy between the great values “radiant virtue” and “personal love,” which presents some of the features discussed by Dr. Nygren in his interesting and suggestive book called *Agape and Eros*. And much, too, could be said about the criticism of metaphysical personalism made by Hartmann in connection with the doctrines of his fellow-countryman, Scheler. Perhaps I have said enough to show, negatively, that in the first place the method of the phenomenologist debars itself from any conclusive attempt to deny the theistic position since it is in principle unmetaphysical and, whilst withdrawing with something of a shudder from any anthropomorphic conceptions of deity, is in this case sufficiently anthropomorphic to deny that cosmic teleology could possibly manifest itself in any save that precise form in which in our experience finite teleology is manifested, however clear the indications may be that in point of fact it does; and that in the second place, so far from creating an intelligible and self-consistent ethic by abandoning any cosmic metaphysical scheme, he only succeeds in casting the whole ethical scheme into a form which is irrational and even unintelligible. Positively I have tried to maintain that the coincidence of natural causality and finite teleology, by the very fact of demonstrating that the cosmos is a possible field for teleology, points to finite teleology as its probable cosmic end; that a broad examination of the structure of the cosmos and an analysis of the nature of conscious and unconscious purpose bears this conclusion out; and further that ethics demand it as the rational ground for its own claims.

Two further points should perhaps be mentioned in conclusion. Firstly, it seems to me to be unwise to evade the clash which Dr. Hartmann finds between religion and ethics, as Mr. Stanton Coit evades it in the preface to his translation of Hartmann’s work, by pointing out that the clash only exists when religion is equated with metaphysical personalism, and

that nowadays many people are tending to identify the objective factor in religion with "whatever-is-holy" and the subjective factor with the "Sensing-of-Holiness": in other words, that there is a self-existent ideal sphere of religious as well as moral values. For apart from the difficulty which has been revealed in the study of Otto in finding what is the distinguishing content of the objectively holy, inasmuch as its content seems in analysis to dissolve away into identity with the other values, and the distinction to consist solely in the attitude adopted towards them, and apart from the fact that surely "whatever-is-objectively-holy" must be so for some reason, just as what is right is only right because it is good, it seems to me that, whatever else we may mean by religion, at least we mean belief in the unity, intelligibility, purposiveness and worth of the cosmos and its distinction from the object of worship (and this, although much of the phenomena which we should rightly designate religious has no explicit reference to such beliefs). For once a person has come to see the cosmic reference of religion he sees (as Plato remarked in a similar connection) that it could not be otherwise: and once, therefore, he is convinced that the universe is not constituted as he supposed it to be, even though the feelings which he would describe as religious feelings should remain in connection with certain objects, yet he would be convinced that he could not be described correctly as a believer in religion. What sort of a survival of belief in religious values there would be in a world which no longer believed in religion we can no more say than how far belief in moral values would survive the loss of the practice of morality. But if, as I think, the specifically religious values stand or fall with religion in a way in which moral values do not so obviously stand or fall with religion, it would certainly be a shadowy and probably a short-lived survival. One cannot imagine faith and hope surviving long when the truth of the objects towards which they strive has once been consciously abandoned. And if that is so, it is hardly possible to conceive of a reconciliation between the theist and Dr. Hartmann along those lines. The contradiction is real enough.

My second and final point is that with which Dr. Hartmann concludes his all-important chapter on ethical and religious freedom, and I make it because it demonstrates clearly the gulf which lies between even the ethics of religion and that of "self-existence." The reverse side of the antinomy of providence which we discussed as that between cosmic and finite teleology is what he calls the antinomy of salvation. The religious relation of man and God culminates in man's deliverance from sin; and sin is moral guilt de-ethicised. From the religious point of view sin is a thing which must be taken away if a man is to be free to pursue the good: from the ethical point of view the effacing of guilt is moral suicide since the Will-to-Guilt is man's prerogative as a moral being, which if he loses, he is no longer a man. Here again is an insoluble antinomy between ethics and religion. Surely this is again a confusion. A man is no less guilty because he is forgiven. Indeed, if he were not responsible, and therefore guilty, there would be no need of forgiveness. The actual place of forgiveness in the scheme of things is that as a matter of fact, and not as a legal fiction, it redeems and makes possible (or, at least, more nearly possible) the actualisation of that realm of values which, *pace* Hartmann, is the end posited by the author of the cosmos to be accomplished through finite teleology working on the field of natural causality. In other words, a scheme of salvation keeps in mind that the end is the realisation of value: the ethical *a priori* gets us no further than a claim, and that in itself an irrational one, to moral responsibility in a world where moral responsibility is ultimately futile. The antinomy of salvation, as presented by Hartmann, shows us that the ideal of a scheme of self-existent values is worlds apart from that of theism—it proves that the belief or disbelief in a theistic universe will make the utmost difference to our notions of what things are and what things are not values, and what is their order of value. The value of a claim to guilt which is an arrogant assertion of uniqueness in an alien universe is obviously different from and, in my opinion, less high than a claim to guilt which is a cry of humility asking for salvation.

And what, after all, is the value of the existence and fostering of moral being in a universe which, like its values, must in the long run "consign to dust"? The attitude of Prometheus or Mr. Bertrand Russell might be described as undignified, and certainly as futile. That there is any "ought" to be found in a morality which crumbles in the hands that build I cannot see: yet that is the irrational ethic which Dr. Hartmann, with admirable tenacity and amazing brilliance, attempted to analyse. His attempt may be said to be worthy of a more valuable cosmos than that the nature of which he supposes his system to be the exposition.

K. V. RAMSEY.

ART. IV.—JOHN LAMBE, DEAN OF ELY, 1693—1708.

BEFORE his appointment to be Dean of Ely, Mr. John Lambe had been a chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. The statutes of the cathedral ordered that the dean should be a doctor of divinity. Mr. Lambe was a mere M.A. Court influence, however, exerted itself in his favour and brought the dean designate safely to his moorings. He read himself in on June 25, 1693. Somewhat later his doctorship was acquired and the statutes were satisfied.

The new dean was far inferior to his predecessor in learning; yet he had capacity of a sort, much industry, and a good opinion of his own prescience. Few were the chapter meetings at which he did not appear. Unlike several of his predecessors and successors he was neither the head of a Cambridge college nor a professor. Therefore he was undistracted by the claims of Cambridge and resided mainly at Ely. The deanery became a dean's home, where Mrs. Lambe (she was one of the Killigrews, a Cornish family) kept house and hospitality. After her death in 1701, there survived at least one daughter to take care of her father and to sit with a certain Lady Jenyns in a pew specially constructed upon the Norman screen, or pulpitum, which at that time divided the nave of the cathedral from the choir. Hitherto the dean had not undertaken a yearly term of "residence." Dean Lambe changed this custom. Henceforth dean and prebendaries alike became responsible for periods of "residence" and continued so to be until the nineteenth century was almost middle-aged. Then the older custom was restored and the dean ceased to perform his annual forty days of "residence."

By nature Dean Lambe was cautious, perhaps some would say meticulous. Not being well off, he formed a habit of looking at both sides of a shilling. Letters written by him at

the time of the disaster in 1699, when part of the north transept collapsed, remain to show that he applied a brake to the impetuous haste of one or more of his colleagues who were for pressing on the expensive work of restoration. He insisted upon delay until such time as he could confer with Sir Christopher Wren. Sir Christopher's advice when received was worth having, and the dean must have felt that he had not been cautious in vain.

The external appearance of the cathedral over which Mr. John Lambe came to preside as dean in 1693 differed somewhat from that of the present time. The western tower bore a slender and graceful spire or flèche. This was a wooden construction covered with lead and surmounted with a vane. It increased the height of the tower by about sixty feet. The present gauntness of the tower as viewed from the west was mitigated then by the high-pitched roof which covered the parvise chamber above the Galilee porch. This roof has since been removed. With many of its window openings blocked up, the tower had rather a blinded appearance. A mean little house called "The Smoakey" stood in very close proximity to its base. Occupying a draughty situation between the palace and the cathedral, the chimneys of this dwelling probably laboured successfully to justify its appellation. The road between the bishop's palace and the south-west transept of the cathedral was crossed by the gallery. This was a covered passage-way borne across the road upon two arches, one being wide enough for wheeled and horse traffic, the other, narrower, was for the use of pedestrians. This gallery enabled the bishop to enter the cathedral privately and without exposure to the outer air. Money was spent upon the repair of this gallery way in 1678, when Peter Gunning was Bishop of Ely, and again in 1696, during the episcopate of Symon Patrick. On the latter occasion nearly twenty pounds was expended, the sum being divided equally between the bishop and the dean and chapter. For Gunning and Patrick, who were both lovers of the cathedral—Gunning left money to repave the choir, and Patrick bequeathed many books to the

library—the gallery way may have been a convenient and much used means of entrance. But their Georgian successors were undistinguished as churchgoers. The gallery fell into disuse and perhaps became ruinous. It was finally and most regretably removed early in the nineteenth century. If it were still in position, it would be a bar to the thundering passage of overloaded sugar-beet lorries, which are now doing their utmost to shake the cathedral and other ancient buildings to destruction.

Entering the cathedral by one of the two unworthy doorways which had been inserted to mar the beauty of the Galilee porch, a visitor would presently have found himself beneath the west tower. He might well have failed to recognise that the tower rose 200 feet above his head, for it was cumbered internally with a belfry floor, which hid the architectural features and closed the upward vista. On his right hand lay the south-west transept, but it was shut off and concealed by walls. Known as “the Plumb House,” it served as a storeroom for glass, lead, timber, and other materials. The nave stretched long and bare in front of him. The interesting but rather finicky little font, provided by a bequest made by the late Dean Spencer, was already, or was soon to be in position between two columns on the south side of the nave. Across the head of the nave stretched the Norman pulpitum. It carried the organ and sundry pews. The handsome case of the organ, though no longer in use, remained in the cathedral until November, 1934. The pulpitum was a broad and solid structure borne upon vaulting. Beneath it was the entrance to the choir. The choir, paved with black and white marble and lined with Alan de Walsingham’s canopied stalls, occupied a position in the octagon under the central lantern. The old choir altar of the monks was now the high altar of the cathedral. Behind it stood the imposing tomb of Bishop Hotham. Other tombs and memorials were to be seen in the presbytery. Mr. James Bentham and Mr. James Essex had not yet rearranged them on the principle of General Post, causing a confusion from which the unfortunate monuments have yet to recover. In

the year 1700, where a monument stood, there beneath it one could safely assume was the hallowed dust which it commemorated.

In the south aisles of the choir may have remained fragments of the chapels formerly situated there. The three chapels on the east side of the south transept had degenerated into a library and two vestries. But some ancient screen work may have remained, and the hideous wall which now shuts them off from the transept awaited the nineteenth century to conceive and erect it and the twentieth to tolerate it. The nave had that freedom from seats which happily it still enjoys. Its eastern end was used as a sermon place. There was a pulpit there and seats were set for the congregation. But such seats were moveable, put out for Sundays, and cleared away after use.

The cathedral possessed but little plate. When Mr. Hitch was appointed sacrist in 1679, he became responsible for the plate and an inventory of it was appended to his patent. Mention was made of "one silver bason double gilt, two large silver candlesticks gilt, two great silver flaggons gilt, two chalices with their covers gilt, two silver patines gilt, and lether cases for the care of them lyned with green baize." The altar had curtains of blue serge extending to right and left of it. Over it were damask purple hangings, scarlet edged, with gold and silk fringe. There were two altar cloths—"carpetts" they were called. One was of purple broad cloth with a silk fringe; the other was of purple and scarlet damask edged with a purple and gold fringe. There were cushions to match. They acted as bookrests. No linen was mentioned except "four cloths of fine Holland for the service of the Communion." There was no cross upon the altar, but there was an "altar piece." It was repaired in 1710 when the sum of £27 was spent upon it. Judging from the largeness of the amount, the altar piece must have been a considerable piece of work. But no details of its appearance have come down to us. There was matting on the floor before the altar, cheap stuff,

which cost fifteen shillings. Two wax candles for the altar cost £1 in 1683.

Tasselled cushions in the stalls to carry the books of the dean and prebendaries called for frequent repair. At Christmas time the choir was decorated or strewn with "rosemary and bayes" at a cost of two shillings or so.

At the west end of the cathedral lay the piece of land called the Bishop's Green. This was the rallying point for His Majesty's lieges when an occasion of national importance called for a celebration. Sometimes they found that the dean and chapter had sent a barrel of beer. King William's escape from the plot to murder him in his coach was honoured with beer to the amount of twenty-five shillings in 1696. Bonfires were another means by which to express jubilation. The account books of the dean and chapter contain frequent mention of small disbursements, usually a shilling, to the schoolboys "for a bonfire." In 1713, the occasion being the proclaiming of the peace and the thanksgiving, their grant amounted to four shillings and sixpence. The ringers rang "after the election of Knights of the Shire" and received half-a-crown. This would mean sixpence each, for there were five bells. When the occasion was royal, the King's birthday, his proclamation or coronation, the ringers could reckon upon receiving five shillings. The year of Blenheim, 1704, was a year of much national jubilation. The dean and chapter expended £2 10s. upon ringers and bonfires. At the proclamation of King James II five shillings had been paid to "the King's Drummers." At the proclamation of King William and Queen Mary there was a charge of four shillings "for Ely Porta Drums and Colours."

Though the cathedral was not worthily equipped with bells, such bells as it possessed were not left idle. The light peal of five, removed by Dean Wilford from the central octagonal tower, now hung in the western steeple. Presumably these were the only bells. In the year 1662 the dean and chapter had asked leave of King Charles II to take down

two useless bells hanging in the western steeple. These may have been two of the four big bells which Prior Alan de Walsingham employed John de Gloucester to cast in the year 1346. King Charles gave his permission. The two bells were taken down, melted and sold. The proceeds of the sale helped to pay for the costly work of reparation which was being begun upon the western steeple.

The bells were pealed and tolled for the best part of an hour and a half before each service. The vergers, who were also ringers, complained bitterly of the amount of time which they had to spend in the belfry. Ultimately they petitioned the dean and chapter to grant them some relaxation. The petition is extant. It is undated, but internal evidence shows that it must have been written between the years 1679 and 1699. The two petitioning vergers are Richard Rider and Thomas Ingram. They show "in most humble manner that it hath been ye custome to toll ye Bell in the morning a full half hour and for ye most part of a quarter more before prayers began (unless hastened in by some of y^r worships). At 9 a clock we use to ring ye firste peale: and $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after we ring ye second peale and at 10 we chime and toll and stay as before. In ye afternoon at 3 we ring ye first peale: and $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after we ring ye second peale: and at 4 we chime and toll full $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and stay as before: which long tolling and stay is very tedious to us: upon Sundays though the time be a little altered in ye morning y^t ye labor is more for then he whose week it is hath the communion cloths to lay and plate to carry out and place and bread and wine to provide; and 2 peales to ring: and afterwards to chime, and then to ring out the great bell and to toll till ye $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's end soo that unless we be stirring early we have hardly time to make us ready for prayers (but necessity has no law)."

They go on to compare this lavish indulgence in bell-ringing at Ely with the more temperate habits prevailing at Lincoln and Norwich. Suggested alterations conclude the petition. Whether the dean and chapter accepted it favourably or not does not appear.

The Great Bell mentioned in the vergers' petition was merely the tenor of the light peal of five and not an Ely Big Tom or Great Peter. In 1723 it was new run, having developed a crack, at a cost of £18 19s. 8d. The work was done by Penn of Peterborough, who inscribed upon the bell:

"Henry Penn made me, 1723."

Dr. Raven's book, *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, credits Penn with the making of the present peal of five. The account books do not bear out that statement. Penn recast the tenor; but the other four bells would seem to be those which Dean Wilford removed from the central lantern and hung in the western steeple about the year 1662. They are small but beautiful bells. An antiquated chiming apparatus prevents them from doing themselves justice. The treble of the peal no longer lives with or sounds among her sisters. She has been removed to a topmost turret of the western tower, and serves there in cruel bondage to the clock.

The reunion of this pretty little family is much to be wished. Their separation was a barbaric act of a barbaric century—the nineteenth.

Dean Lambe's appointment to Ely and the payment by Sir Richard Onslow of a large fine were events which were separated by no great interval. The sum of £900 was set aside out of this fine to be expended upon the church and its ministers. Of this sum the amount spent upon the organ for new pipes and a new case was £380. Gratuities were given to the lower ministers, both clerical and lay. Madam Womack, widow of the late prebendary, Dr. Womack, was given twenty guineas. Presumably she was in financial low water and needed the gift, though one does not quite see what right she had to share in the profits of the Onslow fine. Some forty pounds were spent upon paving "ye Isles and Porch." A new clock was made and set up for £96 15s. 7d. The east end of the choir was beautified—how one does not know—at a cost of £79. And Mr. Ryder made a sundial for £10. This sundial was made of wood. It stood until the year 1755.

Then, as it showed decrepitude, the dean and chapter decided to replace it with a stone dial. This decision, however, was not put into effect. So the old wooden sundial continued to serve for some time longer—perhaps until it was replaced by the stone dial which remains to this day upon the south wall of the south transept. The new clock, which was bought in 1692, was set up in the parvise chamber over the Galilee porch. Its face, looking out westwards at no great altitude, must have been a tempting target for boys who wanted to practise the art of throwing stones at a mark. A full account of the distribution of the Onslow fine was drawn up by the Deputy-Receiver, the Rev. John Dowsing, dated May 13, 1692, and transcribed into the Audit Booke.

Mr. Dowsing, as Deputy-Receiver, with a yearly gratuity of £5 7s. 6d., was a permanent official at the treasury of the dean and chapter. One of the prebendaries was chosen, usually from year to year, often with an extension of a second year, rarely of a third, to act as treasurer and receiver. The deputy-receiver was always a minor canon. So was the auditor. The duties of these two officials had become a trifle confused in 1687. Dean Spencer found it necessary to clear the situation by means of a memorandum drawn up in his own hand and inscribed in the Audit Booke. The receiver (practically speaking this meant the deputy-receiver, who did the work) was to receive all the rents and keep a proper rental. He was to repair the church and the several houses. He was to make an inventory of all church goods, cast up the rents received, and render an account of them to the auditor. "He is to attend at Courts, to quicken ye tardy tenants to pay in their rents as oft as there is occasion, and to lend ye Church money, as its need may require, and as other Receivers have often done her-tofor."

The auditor served as a check upon the deputy-receiver. He took an account of all rents, fines, heriots, arrears, or any other church dues received by the bailiffs in the several manors. It was his business "to draw the Receiver's Onus at ye audit in the paper called the Visus Computus." He had to be

present at the audit. The Audit Booke was written up by him and so was the yearly Visus Computus, a copy of which was preserved among the records. The auditor had for his office a building called the Auditor's Chamber which occupied part of the site of the present drawing room of the deanery. He was paid about £8 per annum. There was a fireplace in his chamber. The chimney thereof was one of two which were swept at the expense of the dean and chapter. The other privileged chimney was in the deputy-receiver's chamber. Both these officials were granted allowances for firewood. Here the auditor had the better of the deputy-receiver, for his allowance was £1 13s. 4d. as against his rival's sixteen shillings.

When these gentlemen had to send messages to Cambridge or elsewhere, they had need of a man and perhaps of a horse as well. A man and a horse about church business for three days cost nine shillings and sixpence. A man to walk to Cottenham (about 12 miles) could be produced for one shilling and sixpence. A short-distance service as messenger was supplied by "Widdow Harrowmore." She was in constant employment for several years. As she got on in years they took to calling her "Goody Harrowmore." She had a competitor—a person called Ely Taylor. When Goody became too infirm to carry messages expeditiously and too weak to support a box of wax candles from the quay up the hill to the cathedral, her son, William Harrowmore, stepped into her place. One day in the year 1710 he was helping the porter to bring up the church candles and received one shilling and three-pence for his services.

The yearly bill for candles was a big one. The chandler received £22 in 1680. Subsequent years tended to show an increase. The average sum may have been about £25. Two wax candles for the altar cost twenty shillings in 1683. Not all the candles were used in the church. Some were burned by Mr. Hawkins, the organist, at the choir school. Mr. Hawkins's musical enthusiasm brought about the institution of occasional choir practices. In the time of his predecessor, Mr. Ferabosco, the music seems to have been performed with-

out previous rehearsal except on very special occasions. "To the Quire at twice in the Organist's chamber—two shillings and sixpence." This is an entry in the accounts for 1679-80. Mr. Ferabosco was getting on in years and may have been in poor health. Young Mr. Bullis lent a hand in the organ loft and did a lot of the "pricking." For this he was duly paid. During some time before Mr. Ferabosco's death, Mr. Bullis must have been acting as Informator Choristarum, for he was paid £10 "for teaching the choristers" in 1682. The accounts for that year included an item of seventeen shillings and tenpence "layd out by Mr. Hitch for Mr. Ferabosco's funeral." Mr. Hitch was precentor and sacrist. There was an interval of six months between the death of Mr. Ferabosco and the arrival of Mr. Hawkins. Young Mr. Bullis received a gratuity of £5 for his services during the vacancy. Mr. Hawkins, when he arrived, found the books of the choir in bad order. He provided forthwith "a sett and halfe of printed singing bookes." The dean and chapter reimbursed him to the amount of £3. Perhaps as the result of his advice, the choir was strengthened by the addition of two Demys, i.e., supernumerary lay clerks. Something was done to improve the organ. Sixty pounds was spent upon it in 1684. At this time there was also an organ in the singing school. Anthony Brignall mended it in 1686. Next year occurs a clear mention of a choir practice. "To the Quire for trying anthems before Christmass. 3^s. 6^d." In the same year Mr. Hawkins was very busy pricking music. He was paid £7 3s. 5d. Next year he did more pricking and received £7 19s. 6d. In 1689 the choir was paid a small sum "for trying anthems." Music books that year cost £1 5s. 6d., and Mr. Hawkins broke all records with a pricking bill of £10 12s. 2d. The dean and chapter repressed his enthusiasm in 1693 by means of an order which said that he should not be paid for pricking books, setting any chorus, or composing any anthem unless he had previously declared his intention to the dean or the resident prebendary and obtained consent. In 1696 young Mr. Bullis was paid £1 for "Mr. Purcell's papers" which he had long since pro-

cured. And a Demy named Brown "for his very good voice" was given £7 as an addition to his stipend. The dean and chapter, however, were careful to guard against the citation of this generous action as a precedent. From notices such as these one may deduce that the musical affairs of the cathedral were not being neglected. The choir was being kept up to strength. Its members were being properly supplied with books. Some of the music written by Henry Purcell, the foremost composer of the time, was in use. His anthem, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings," became and remained the anthem for Christmas Day until the Messianic flood swept it away. Mr. Hawkins himself composed many services and anthems—workmanlike stuff, but a trifle dull.

In the early years of Dean Lambe the Cathedral Grammar School, commonly known as the King's or Queen's School, according to the sex of the reigning sovereign, called for some regulation. The school had two masters, one of whom was supposed to be the headmaster. But practically they were two kings in Brentford. Mr. Wake, the Hypodidascalus, was refusing to obey the directions of the Archididascalus, Mr. Silvertop, in respect of the books to be taught and the methods to be used. Under these circumstances poor Mr. Silvertop—he lost his wife about this time—must have worn his headmastership as a crown of thorns. The dean and chapter did something to help him when they agreed in 1694 that once at least in every year the dean or some one or more of the canons should make a statutable visitation of the school to correct and order all things according to the statutes. Mr. Silvertop died in 1699. Instead of burying him beside his wife in the Lady Chapel, they made him a grave in the south transept. There may be seen the black marble slab which was put for his memorial. A Mr. Edmund Tenant, one of the minor canons, was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Tenant seems to have been a capable and diligent headmaster. The dean and chapter recorded their appreciation of the great diligence which he showed in the performance of his duties. In 1705 they made a special grant of £10 towards the repairing and

fitting up of his house. Mr. Tenant held the headmastership until his death in 1724. His wife was poorly left and had financial losses. In her latter years she needed the dean and chapter to come to her rescue. They let her have a house rent free. They had previously treated her very gently in the matter of a lease fine which she had to pay for Paradise Close in consideration of her late husband's services to the church.

The school flourished under Mr Tenant, who in his later years had an assistant of high repute as a teacher. This was Mr. Henry Gunning, whose grandson of the same name long afterwards wrote interesting reminiscences of the Cambridge of his own day. But though Mr. Tenant was nominally headmaster, the second master managed to retain much, one might say too much independence. The chapter order of the year 1703 throws light on the situation.

“Ordered that the Dean, with some of the prebendaries present, shall inform the two masters of the school that (for the preservation of a good agreement, and for preventing any disputes which may arise between them concerning the profits of the school) it is the opinion of the dean and chapter that, as well for their own ease and quiet, as for the good of the school, it is expedient, notwithstanding any inequality of number which may happen in either of their schools, that they should divide the profits of the whole school between them share and share alike; excepting only that the first or chief master, in regard of his place, to whom the care of the whole school by our statutes is committed, should receive one pound more out of the profits of the school than the second master.” The stipend of the headmaster in 1703 was £18 per annum and that of the second master was £10.

Dean Lambe had found marriage an expensive luxury. He was never well off and was forced to be cautious in money matters. The caution which had become habitual in his private affairs he carried into the management of his cathedral. Apparently the offertory alms had been rather negligently guarded. In the year 1695 Anthony Brignall, a lay clerk and

a clever carpenter, was ordered to make "a little square box with a sufficient lock and key and a slit sufficient to receive a half-crown piece." The order (from which we learn incidentally that the Sacrament was being administered every Sunday at this time) goes on with a meticulous attention to detail which breathes the cautious spirit of Dean Lambe.

"That after the Subsacrists are paid for the bread and wine, the remainder of the collection shall be put in this box through the slit aforesaid; that a note shall be taken in a paper book (which shall be provided for that purpose) of the sum that is put into this box aforesaid, every Sunday after Sacrament, before it is put in, that the key of this box shall be kept in the Chapter House, in that box wherein is the common seal. That the box itself shall be kept in the chest with the Communion plate, that upon every General Chapter-day this box shall be opened and the money delivered to the two curates of Ely Trinity and St. Maries, to be by them distributed at their discretion to the poor of the said parishes and those in ye Chappelry of Chettisham. That this shall be put into execution on Sunday next Dec. 1, 1695."

Anthony Brignall made a good strong oaken box. Disused, it reposes now in the library. It is in excellent condition and ready for service again whenever the need arises. Five shillings and sixpence was Anthony's charge for making it. Anthony died in 1700. He left a widow. She received a weekly pension from the dean and chapter of 18 pence.

In the year 1696 the dean and chapter legislated repressively against dogs and children. They enacted "that Thomas Ingram, Rider and John Knowles or some one of them shall at all times keep the dogs out of the choir, and if any dog shall get into the choir and shall not be put immediately out the blame and punishment of such neglect shall fall upon the one (or those) of the three above mentioned that shall happen to be there present. And that this order shall also extend to the removing or quieting disorderly children. And it is farther ordered that Mr. Knowles shall keep all dogs, as much as in

him lies, out of the body of the church at all times, but especially upon Sundays, and in the time of Divine Service."

At the festive seasons, Shrovetide, Easter and Whitsuntide, Ely was apt to be rowdy. To prevent unseemly irruptions, the vergers were ordered to keep the doors of the church closed. No doubt they were expected to be on the watch and sometimes were called upon to repel inebriated individuals who were seeking entrance. The vergers yearly divided £1 5s. between them in consideration of this extra work and the reasonable likelihood of a black eye or a bloody nose. But it was not only at the festive seasons that the cathedral was unsuitably used. A chapter order dated November, 1726, aimed at preventing "ye indecencys which (as we are informed) are frequently committed in the church by disorderly persons resorting thither after evening service." It ordered the doors to be closed every evening from Michaelmas to Lady Day immediately after evensong. A further order was made that "in ye time of evening prayers one of our virgirs, or John Knowles, do daily goe in ye body and isles of ye church and warn such persons as they find walking there, either to come into prayers or forthwith depart out of ye church."

Mention has been made of John Knowles—a much trusted servant. He began as church sweeper, rose to be organ blower, and at last became a verger. One of his sons served the dean and chapter as deputy-receiver. Another, Thomas Knowles, took holy orders, was the author of many theological works, and finally became a prebendary of the cathedral in which his father had been a verger.

Further to guard the church from unsuitable and unsavoury uses "an Act against Prophanation" was drawn up and placed where it could be read. The act was written out by Mr. Rider the verger, or else by a person of the same name who was a lay clerk. Whichever Mr. Rider it was, no doubt it was the one who had some skill as a painter and illuminator. We hear of small payments made to him for "gilding four starres," and for lettering the boxes in the chapter house.

Mention should now be made of a gentleman whose Christian name was Francis, and whose surname was variously written Bug, Bugg, or Bugge. He was a vigorous opponent of the Quakers. His character may not have been above reproach. In later years he became a denizen of Ely jail. But Dean Lambe and the prebendaries took the view that any insect was good enough to bite a Quaker with. So they supported Mr. Bugg with grants of money. For several years he received sums of varying amounts—once he got £5—from the dean and chapter to help him to carry on his anti-Quaker crusade. He or another Mr. Bugg gave ten shillings towards the restoration of the north transept in 1699.

Queen Anne was a devout lady. The example of the Queen made attendance at church fashionable. Ladies began to come to the Sunday morning service in the cathedral in greater numbers than formerly. Consequently the provision of space for seating became a matter which called for attention. A certain Lady Jenyns applied to Dean Lambe for leave to have a pew constructed upon the organ screen or pulpitum. Her husband, Sir Roger, was a local figure of some importance. The Jenyns family lived at Bottisham, but held some property at Wichford, three miles from Ely. Dean Lambe may have found Lady Jenyns somewhat high and mighty. She was Sir Roger's second wife, not very long wedded, and perhaps her newly acquired importance had gone to her head. Her demand for a seat upon the organ screen was one to which the dean might well have demurred. Not that there was insufficient room for the pew. That solid and ample Norman screen would have provided plenty of room for the organ, for Mr. Hawkins the organist, for John Knowles the organ blower, and for a pew to contain Lady Jenyns as well. But the dean might fairly have pointed out that such a pew and its occupant would be in a position of dreadful conspicuity. And if Lady Jenyns was hooped in the fashion of the day, how could she possibly have ascended the narrow spiral staircase which led from the floor of the nave to the top of the screen? Perhaps, however, conspicuity was what Lady Jenyns wanted. She had

her way. A memorandum was made in the chapter order book of Dean Lambe's concession:—"Upon ye 21st day of June 1705 I granted (as far as in me lay) to ye Lady Jenyns ye use of y^t part of ye Gallery over my head (looking into ye Choire) unto ye end of the second casem^t fronting upon ye Altar: and I farther promised to inclose y^t part of ye Gallery with a Door; and that a lock should be set on, the key to be kept by ye Virger, to be opened at her Ladys^p's Comand, for ye Use of herselfe and friends (not excluding ye Dean's Daughter)."

The pulpitum is here called the gallery. "The second casement" presumably was the second returned stall upon the north side of the choir. Mention of "the Dean's Daughter" reminds us that Mrs. Lambe had died about four years previously. An item mentioned in the Audit Booke is "for Matting the seat over y^e Deans head 2^s. 4^d." No doubt it is Lady Jenyns' seat which is meant. It should be mentioned that her ladyship was probably aided and abetted by Prebendary Ferne. He was treasurer that year. Not all the blame for this weakly conceded privilege rests upon Dean Lambe.

Going back a few years, it is interesting to note that the coming of Dean Lambe, with a wife and family, to replace Dean Spencer, a bachelor, was the cause of some innovations. There was henceforth more entertaining, and perhaps the parties included ladies occasionally. In 1693 a purchase of 18 chairs at 11^s. 4^d. each was made. These would seat the dean and the eight prebendaries and nine ladies or other guests. Next year, when the dean was up in London, he bought 18 knives and forks for the use of the chapter. In 1695 Mrs. Lambe found that a new powdring tub was wanted at the deanery. Now that the deanery was really the dean's home (Dean Spencer had preferred his rooms in Bennet College) more meat had to be salted and pickled for winter use. Hence the new powdring tub, which cost 7 shillings.

The cooper was busy making new brewing utensils in 1696 and ran up a bill of £13 10s. The brazier made a copper and a dozen of plates for £14. John Dunn supplied a wine

cooler for £3 2s. Then we hear of the dean buying a silver ladle for £2 10s. 6d. Let us not forget that a quantity of good silver had lately been bought by means of a legacy left by Dean Spencer. Mrs. Lambe had a new copper put in at the deanery in 1701. She died that same year. Widow Harrowmore—she became “Goody” Harrowmore in 1703—was doing rather well with errands and messages. So were the ringers, e.g., “severall times for Bonfires and Beer £1 12s. 6d.” Mr. Martyn, presumably an Ely fishmonger who had perhaps taken the business of the late Mr. Wagstaffe, now at rest in Trinity Church, was paid 7s. 6d. for some fish supplied for the audit entertainment in 1705. Seldom previously had the dean and chapter bought fish. At the June chapter in the same year another startling innovation was made. The dean and prebendaries smoked. The sum of 2s. 8d. was spent to provide them with a pound of Keeling’s tobacco. One may take the year 1705 as marking the date when tobacco first diffused its sweet influences upon a meeting of the dean and chapter of Ely. In the same year the dean paid £3 15s. 6d. for the two last volumes of Lord Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* for the cathedral library.

The armament of the cathedral at this time appears to have consisted of one blunderbuss. This had been bought from a certain Mrs. Russell at a cost of £1 16s. Good sport could be had in and about the cathedral killing jackdaws. A dead jackdaw was worth twopence. At that figure the sport was profitable. The mortality amongst jackdaws became quite remarkable. The vergers were for ever stalking them. 250 jackdaws were killed, or at least paid for by the treasurer, in 1700. Mr. Poole, one of the vergers, killed ten shillings-worth in 1709. The other verger, Mr. Robins, tried to emulate this success, but his bag was only 2 dozen and 3 birds. John Knowles was another shooter of jackdaws. They earned him 5s. 5d. in 1710. It is hard to see why the dean and chapter nourished such animosity against these cheerful birds. Perhaps there was a superstition that jackdaws pecked at and damaged the masonry. Perhaps they got into the church and made

themselves a nuisance there with hoarse and clamorous croaking.

A good deal of money went out in private and public charity. There was the case of Mr. Robinson, one of the lay clerks. He got into debt. The dean and chapter gave £4 towards his extrication. When Mr. Robinson fell ill, they paid the nurse who looked after him for five weeks. The apothecary's bill came to £4 15s. This also was settled by the treasurer. Year by year "a Christmas Dole" of about £5 was allowed. Mary Claxton was given £1 in 1683. She was probably the invalid daughter of a former organist. A chirurgeon "for his service about Mr. Thamar" received five shillings. The chirurgeon was unsuccessful. The next item in the Audit Booke is half-a-crown "for watching the corps and removing it." A young man named Guy Smith was being assisted at Cambridge University. He had £3 14s. for clothes and other necessities. A poor girl named Sawyer was allowed £4 13s. 4d. in 1695 and received other sums in subsequent years. When Mr Ingram was clerk of the works a mistake was made which caused a poor labourer to lose 8^d. But the debt was acknowledged and the amount repaid two years later. Literature in the person of Mr. Francis Bugg appealed to the dean and chapter not in vain. His writings against the Quakers gained him several donations. Two of his books were added to the cathedral library. Mention of the library is a reminder that in the time of Dean Lambe Bishop Symon Patrick was supplied with a key to it. This is a privilege which the Bishops of Ely no longer enjoy. They have lost their palatine powers and also their library keys. To return to the subject of charity, a very worthy and respectable recipient, Mr. Hawkins the organist, was given £5 in 1712. In the previous year Mrs. Hawkins had been given a present of £2. Poor woman! She had had many children, several of whom died young and were buried in the south transept. There is a note of burial fees kindly remitted to their father. But perhaps this act of generosity should be credited to the precentor rather than to the dean and chapter. A year or so before his death,

he being then in very difficult circumstances, Mr. Hawkins received a kindly gift of twenty guineas. During the last few years of his life he had held a beadsman's place. No doubt the stipend of £6 13s. 4d. was a great help to him. The fact that he had no statutable right to it must be discreetly ignored.

Of acts of public charity many examples occur, more or less interesting. The dean and chapter as a corporate body gave £50 towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's. They gave further sums to St. Paul's as individuals. Mention is made of £70 sent to London for the rebuilding of St. Paul's. The cost of the carriage of this money was 13^{s.} 4^{d.}, at the rate of 2^{d.} per pound. This seems expensive. Perhaps it included a charge for insurance. A year later £50 was brought to Ely for Mr. Dean at a cost of no more than 1^{s.} 6^{d.}. Fires often devastated the Cambridgeshire villages. The dean and chapter were frequently subscribing five pounds or thereabouts to help those which had suffered damage. Newmarket and Ely had £15 in 1684. The Protestants in France were voted £50 in 1686. They were being harried by Louis XIV. Next year the Ely workhouse received £40. The rebuilding of Lutterworth drew but a small subscription, not much more than the ten shillings given to the tenant at Braham Farm "upon his great loss of Cowes," and much less than the sums paid in 1720 to Eliza Parr and the next year to Eliza Eburn (perhaps the same lady but remarried) "for the maintenance of Mr. Clark's children." One is puzzled to know who Mr. Clark was, and why his children had to be maintained at the chapter expense. He was neither a lay clerk, nor a minor canon, nor yet a verger.

Loyalty to the Crown was a sentiment which from time to time had to be demonstrated and never without expense. King William's lucky escape from the attempt to assassinate him in his coach in 1696 caused a deep emotion of loyalty to burst out. Mr. Ryder, always invoked when fine penmanship was required, wrote an address and was paid ten shillings for his

skill. Mr. Hutton, a minor canon, was involved in the business, but only to the extent of 2^{s.} 4^{d.} for coach hire. Dean Lambe himself attended upon the presentation of the address. His bill for travelling expenses and accommodation in London came to £4. On that occasion the dean and chapter got off lightly. The address presented to Queen Anne at her accession was a costlier matter upon which they had to spend £21. They were addressing again in 1706, the occasion being probably Marlborough's victory at Ramillies. £10 was the sum spent.

That annual cause of expenditure, the audit, and the entertainment of the tenantry which it involved, was not quite so heavy a burden in the eighteenth century as it had been in the seventeenth. The amount stood year by year at £25 or thereabouts. When the difference in money values is taken into account, an expenditure of £25 in 1720 compares thriftily with £27 spent upon the audit in 1639. The account of the latter has survived and is here appended:—

Expended in provision for ye Deane and Chapter at ye Audit 1639.

					£	s.	d.
Imprimis—Boiling and roasting	Beife	...	...	...	1	14	4
	Mutton	...	...	...	1	15	0
	Veale	...	...	...	1	3	8
	Porke	...	...	...	1	6	8
	Suit	...	...	...		2	8
Hennes and Capons	...	...	...	...		9	6
Geese and Wildfowles	...	...	...	...		14	4
Chickins	...	...	...	...		15	8
Oisters and fresh fish	...	...	...	...	1	4	4
Sea fish	...	...	...	...		12	5
Eggs, Creame, Butter and Cheese	...	...	...	...	1	1	4
Sugar and Spices	...	...	...	...	1	5	8
Flour	...	...	...	...		8	0
Fruit	...	...	...	...		5	2
Oatmeale, Vinegar and Salt	...	...	...	...		6	0
5 Barrells of ordinarie Beer	...	...	...	...	1	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Item for 2 of strong	1	0	0
Breade	2	4	0
Wine	2	18	8
Figgs		3	2
Piggions		1	6
Candles		11	4
Glasses, Trenchers, etc.		4	10
Fyring	1	3	6
To Jo: Beard			6
To Mr. Balam's servant			6
To Mr. Rogers his servant		3	0
To ye Rabbit men		3	6
To my L ^d . of Elie's Reeve		5	0
To the Caterer	1	0	0
To the Cooke		16	0
To the Butler		10	0
To ye Porter		5	0
For help in the Kitchen		10	0
For the use of the Plate Linnen & Pewter ...	1	0	0
Meate for the Fowles		1	0
For Skeps & Knife		1	6
Suma	27	18	3

The great disaster in the time of Dean Lambe was the fall of a portion of the north transept. Of this more will be said later. Its repair was far from being the only work which was done upon the cathedral and the buildings in the college during this decanate. In 1696 the sum of £100 had been set aside "towards the repairing and beautifying the south side of the Church." In 1703 an order was made for the repairing and pointing of "the Tower and Cone on the east side of the North front." Probably this was the "tower" or turret which stood at the north-east angle of the north transept. At the north-west angle stood the turret which collapsed in 1699. In 1706 the gateway, Ely Porta, was repaired and re-roofed. The

lead taken off the old roof was sold to pay expenses. We are not informed what material was used for the new roof. On the whole the dean and chapter were properly conservative in their treatment of ancient buildings. When disaster had befallen the north transept, they desired a restoration which should be an exact replica of the building which it replaced. Their wishes were not exactly fulfilled. Some enthusiast for the classical style managed to insert the charming but alien doorway known as Wren's door. An architectural interloper, nevertheless it has established itself securely in the affections of Eleians. Conservative though usually and rightly they were, the dean and chapter allowed themselves to decree the destruction of the Knight's Lodging. This ancient building had formerly been assigned to the minor canons as their residence. But it had become ruinous. Its removal would get rid of an awkward angle in a pathway and improve the prospect of the cathedral as viewed from the courtyard. So the Knight's Lodging was demolished in 1694.

The term "courtyard" has gone out of use. In Dean Lambe's days it signified that part of the college in which now stand the splendid chestnuts. It also included ground which has long since become part of the garden of the house attached to the eighth prebendal stall. There lay a pond, probably a fish pond in monastic times, but used as a drinking-place for horses in the seventeenth century. In 1757 Mr. Jeffery Bentham, one of the minor canons and a brother of James Bentham, the Ely historian, asked for and was given leave to stock the horse pond with fish. One knows not what success attended the experiment. To this Mr. Jeffery Bentham is also ascribed the planting of the chestnuts. He set them to make an avenue of about a dozen trees. Half of them remain, stately umbrageous giants, who tell our disquieted age tales of their own serener youth. The courtyard itself was a part of the college, that august enclosure in which stood the deanery and the prebendal houses. It was at this time almost immune from wheeled traffic. Sixty years were to pass before a carriage road was made between Ely and Cambridge. Then the

inhabitants of the college set up their carriages, and the long barn bounding the south side of the courtyard was turned into stables.

Islanded in the fens, Ely was a self-contained and self-supporting little city. Its food supply was abundant and cheap. Wild fowl of every kind were taken in the decoys. One of these decoys is reported to have been worth £500 a year to its owner, Sir Thomas Hare, in clear profit. Fish was plentiful in the meres and rivers. The fishmongers of Ely kept their ponds or stews well stocked. The purchaser chose his fish, the fishmonger netted it, and from the net to the frying-pan the interval was of the shortest for the fish. Butcher's meat was scarce because the bulk of the land in the little isle was under the plough. There was a small area of pasture close to Ely itself, for the use of which very high rents could be obtained in winter. That season meant floods over the low fen "washes." Cattle had to be sent up to the high lands around the city to graze. Ely itself was a squalid place. Miss Celia Fiennes, a diarist of the time of King William and Queen Mary, described it as "a cage or nest of unclean creatures." One of the principal streets, that which is now called Fore Hill, streamed with water overflowing from the many wells which flanked its course. According to Miss Fiennes, who wrote her diary after a long and tiring ride, newts and snails were rife in the houses. But the gardens were very fertile and produced strawberries of an excellent quality. These were sent off by river to Cambridge, where the dons sought for Ely strawberries and ate them with enthusiasm.

The signal disaster which marked the Lambe decanate was the collapse of the north-west angle of the north transept. With a sudden dreadful sound of downfall, it crashed to the ground on a March evening in the year 1699. The dean and chapter were soon busy with a scheme of reparation. To provide money for the work, they agreed that for the ensuing four years the treasurer should keep back a yearly sum of £250 out of the dues and dividends belonging to the dean and pre-

bendaries. Then they turned to the consideration of plans and estimates. A Cambridge builder named Grumbold put in a contract for the work. This was ultimately accepted, but not before it had been submitted to the consideration of Sir Christopher Wren. Dean Lambe was mainly responsible for calling in Sir Christopher. It is evident from some letters of his which survive that the dean foresaw a financial crash with the consequent ruin of himself and his colleagues the prebendaries. The letters here quoted indicate that if Dean Lambe was over-cautious, he was also shrewd in business and willing to put himself to much trouble in order to get things done in the best way possible. Probably the prebendary-in-residence was the person to whom the dean's letter was sent. The Mr. Dowsing who is mentioned was a minor canon. He was filling the post of deputy-receiver. As the man on the spot, he would be responsible for the execution of the orders of the chapter.

“Mr. Dowsing &, I believe, the treasurer know my mind about entring upon repairing the breach yt I am not willing to enter upon such a business till I know how to finish it. I am sensible of the probable consequences of such proceedings. First we shall quickly hear that the first £250 not due till Audit is spent, will you, 'tis pity the Spring should be lost, come lend your money freely; yn at Audit again we shall have a story how necessary it was to proceed a great way farther than was designed or else all that was done already suffer damage, and therefore it cannot be helped, we must break in upon our dividends and so we shall be drawn in to ye utter ruin of some of us.”

Then follows an appeal for delay and for a more detailed consideration of ways and means. After which the dean glances at his own financial position:—

“I am sensible I cannot lend any money towards y^r building because (thro' a storm y^t fell upon me a m^o before ye Church fell) I am vastly in debt, & my revenue at Ely is anticipated for some years (such is ye effect of clergy marriages)

and I am troubled that I cannot [do] w^t is generous as well as w^t is strictly necessary, and y^t I am forced to consider what I may avoid as well as what is most honourable to be done. But when this is said (that I may no longer pretend ignorance of the business before us and y^t I have not advised about it) I will make a journey to London and consult the ablest builders and have their opinion about Grumbal's & ye Boston mason's estimate: and I will also wait upon ye L^d of Canterbury and give you a speedy answer. In the mean time (for I cannot proceed in the dark) I w^d be glad to know of J. Dowsing whether the ground buttress his fingers itch to be setting will not dive so deep into ye first £250 due at Audit next but that there will be enough remaining to be remitted to London to drive on our winter design with vigour. And whether our ordinary reparations are within their usual bounds, so that we need not fear deficiency again. And thus I presume to answer your letter as my Freind, as well as a Brother of ye Body, and I hope my plainness will not pre-judice me in y^r opinion; nay I do not doubt, at ye last, but you will thank me that my necessities were in measure a check to y^r generosity. As for ye World, not to begin till we know how to finish, will justify us against all its envy malice and capriciousness. Excuse this tedious letter from

Y^r faithfull freind
and humble servant

Aug. 20.

J. LAMBE.

Just now I received a letter from Lady Norton. She presents me with £50.

My humble service to all friends."

Another of Dean Lambe's letters is extant. Written after his London visit, it gives some account of his interview with Sir Christopher Wren. The Mr. Ffulks mentioned in it was the overseer of the masons' work upon St. Paul's Cathedral. The person whom Dean Lambe persistently writes of as Grumbal was the Cambridge contractor more frequently known as Grumbold. It will be noticed that the Archbishop [Tenison]

promised assistance. No doubt he kept his word, but whatever help he gave it was not of the financial kind. As to the Brief which Sir Christopher so confidently prophesied would produce £1,500, the actual receipts were £663. Here follows the letter:

Sir,

On Fryday morning last I was with ye Archbp. and gave him account of my consultation with Mr. Ffulks & Sir Xtopher Wren as he commanded me. But I made ye damage £3,000 and he was glad it was no worse, renewed his promises of his best assistance in Winter, ordered me to desire Sir Xtopher to show him ye plan and so dismissed me very graciously. I was twice with Sir Xtopher, he studyed Grumbal's plan and says (as Ffulks) y^t he cannot exactly understand ye matter by ye plan and therefore his advice thereupon should not pass for his Judgm^t.

But [he said] y^t Grumbal's demands were too high, too much by 4^d ye foot; y^t he reckons too much for newe lead; y^t his estimate of carpenter's work is uncertain, & to be sure, high enough; y^t he ought not to reckon for scaffolds if he takes it by ye perch. He promises to write to Grumbal & ask some questions & I believe he will bring him to about £2000. He says, as Ffulks, y^t Boston's account & demands are plain and comprehend all that is to our advantage. His opinion is ye decay of ye peer was on ye inside of ye Isle because it fell inward, y^t our best way is to get a Breif which he knows (all over England) will yield £1500 y^t it will be farmed at so much. His advice is to make all Window frames of new stone, but good old stone is as good as new for all other purposes. He says, if we have money, we may safely finish it in two summers and then ye builder will find no decay in his scaffolding.

I am with service to all freinds,

Y^r faithful friend,

J. LAMBE.

Mr. John Dowsing, minor canon and deputy receiver,

made a memorandum of the disaster and recorded it in the Audit Booke:—

“On Wednesday ye 29th day of March Anno Dni. 1699 near ten o'clock of ye evening of that day, a great part of ye North Cross Isle of ye Cathedral Church of Ely fell suddenly down, having been weakened as we suppose by an earthquake which happened some few years before and was observed particularly to affect that part of ye church. No dangerous cracks nor warnings of this ruin were observed before it happened, all apparent mischief that had been done by ye earthquake having been made good long before. And here it may be recorded to ye honor of this Society y^t all first appearances of Decay in this noble edifice have been always timely obviated by ye extraordinary care & zeal of ye Reverend Deans and their Chapters. Of this I have been an eye witness for two and twenty years.”

Mr. Dowsing's testimonial is all the more observable as coming from a minor canon. The minor canoniate has seldom tended to an indulgent criticism of its superiors in the cathedral body.

But there is no ground to suppose that Mr. Dowsing writes with his tongue in his cheek. In point of fact the dean and chapter of Ely showed a careful regard for their cathedral throughout the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth century. The time of neglect came later and lasted approximately from 1720 to 1757, when James Essex was called in to survey and report. Perhaps “neglect” is too hard a word. It was not that money was withheld, but that it was ill spent. What the dean and chapter needed was a competent architectural adviser. They found one at last in Essex. Many were the faults of his “restoration,” but at least he saved the building from imminent collapse.

The work of repairing the north transept went steadily forward and was finished in the year 1702. In spite of Dean Lambe's anxious fears, the money was found. The total

expenditure was £1,668, and when this was paid the restoration fund was left with a balance in hand of £385. By way of animating public generosity, rolls of honour, bearing the names of the subscribers to the fund, had been hung up in the cathedral. These were probably the work of Mr. Ryder. He was paid ten shillings "for the tables hung up in the Church." One of them—a very neat piece of workmanship—remains treasured in the Muniment Room. It is here transcribed:

November 15, 1700.

The present gifts and engagements towards ye Repair of the North Breach in the cathedral church of Ely—

	£	s.	d.
The Right Rev. Symon Ld. Bp. of Ely ...	100	0	0
The Rev. ye Dean and Chapter 	1000	0	0
The Lady Dorothy Norton 	50	0	0
Mr. Wm. Bullock, fellow of King's 	5	7	6
Mr. Charles Beaumont, fellow of St. Peter's ...	100	0	0
A private friend 	10	0	0
Mr. Philip Wade, of Ely 	10	0	0
Dr. Covell, Master of Christ's College ...	2	3	0
Mr. Upton, a citizen of London 	5	7	6
The fellows of St. Peter's College 	13	8	4
The fellows of St. John's 	15	0	0
The fellows of King's 	10	15	0
The fellows of Trinity 	10	0	0
Hugh Martin Esquire 	10	15	0
The worshipful Dr. Cook, chancellor to ye Bp.	5	0	0
Jesus College 	5	0	0
Hon. James Mountague 	20	0	0
Sir Benjamin Ayloffe 	15	0	0
Sir Nicholas Stuart 	53	15	0
Dr. Wm. Saywell, his executor 	100	0	0
Sam: Gatward Esquire 	10	0	0
Mr. Thos. Harrison 	2	3	0
Dr. Gabriel Quadring 	2	0	0
Mr. Martin Hall 	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Walter Barnes 	1	1	6
Mr. Edmund Tenant, a vicar of this church ...	2	3	0
Mr. Henry Lambe, a vicar of this church ...	2	3	0

The Bishop of Ely mentioned in this list was Symon Patrick. This pious and learned bishop had recently made a gift of books to the library, for the carriage of which the dean and chapter paid £3 16s. Their arrival made a new catalogue desirable. Minor canon Samuel Hutton prepared one and received a gratuity of £5 7s. 6d. Those were great days for gratuities. One never seems to meet with them now. Bishop Patrick's total subscription to the fund for repairing the breach was £130, and that of the dean and chapter was £1,243. Evidently they made a further contribution after Mr. Ryder's "table" had been drawn up. The "private friend" was Mr. John Dowsing, minor canon and deputy receiver. Mr. Philip Wade was an Ely gentleman who rests under a black marble slab in the south transept. The Hon. James Mountague was chief justice of the Isle of Ely. Mr. Charles Beaumont, the fellow of St. Peter's College, who subscribed so generously, may have been the son of that Dr. Joseph Beaumont who held a prebend of Ely from 1660 to his death in 1699. This was far from being his only piece of preferment, for he enjoyed very considerable eminence as a pluralist in a pluralistic age. Dr. Saywell had been master of Jesus and a prebendary of Ely. The chapter did him rather unusual honour when they elected and re-elected him as their treasurer for three successive years.

Mr. Tenant and Mr. Henry Lambe, minor canons, whose modest subscriptions closed the list, may be said to have done what they could. The former certainly, the latter probably, had little to spare. From another source one learns that Dr. Turner, one of the prebendaries, gave £100 as a personal subscription, and that Mr. Bugg gave ten shillings.

Richard Bentley, who had been appointed Archdeacon of Ely, attended divine service on Sunday, August 17th, 1701, in

order to read himself in. Probably he never entered the cathedral again. On the following Sunday, Charles Ashton came to read himself in as prebendary of the fourth stall. Thus began a connection with the cathedral which lasted for fifty years. To great attainments as a scholar Dr. Ashton added administrative talents which soon made him a powerful personage in the chapter. In the next decanate, that of his friend the semi-invalid Dr. Moss, Ashton was virtually dean. Even in the time of Dean Lambe he emerges as the business man of the chapter, and a memorandum written in his own fine somewhat angular handwriting remains as a witness to his capacity. It deals clearly and ably with the duties of the clerk of the works and the control of his workmen. Its aim is to tighten the treasurer's hold upon expenditure, to reduce waste, and to guard the dean and chapter from dishonesty and fraud. Some of its provisions seem obvious to-day, but nobody appears to have promulgated them at Ely before the time of the Ashton memorandum. The memorandum forbids the buying in of stores without authority from the treasurer, and orders that no building work shall be undertaken in the winter season except "jobbs which cannot be deferred and for the stopping of decays," and these not to exceed the sum of £5. All work is to be supervised by responsible officials. Amongst these appears the name of the much trusted John Knowles. "Lastly it is expected that the overseer of the works shall obey these orders, and act in his office exactly according to them, as he will answer the contrary at the peril of his place."

The Bishops of Ely from the date of the King's Restoration in 1660 up to the death of Dean Lambe in 1708 were Matthew Wren, Benjamin Laney, Peter Gunning, Francis Turner and Symon Patrick. They were all more or less in the Laudian tradition. Decency and order in the churches, with some degree of ceremonial in the services, were viewed by them as desirable attainments. Their influence made itself felt in the cathedral. Archbishop Sheldon's circular letter, written in 1670, did not come to Ely in vain. It had pointed out that "cathedrals are the standard and rule to all parochial Churches

of the solemnity and devout manner of reading the Liturgy." In the main Ely had responded worthily to the archbishop's appeal.

But the death of Bishop Patrick in 1707 wrought a change. His successors, Bishops Moore, Fleetwood and Greene were worthy and respectable bishops, admirable as administrators. But they had neither the saintliness of Patrick nor that high-minded contempt of position and possessions which made Turner one of the seven bishops and afterwards a non-juror. As the eighteenth century advanced the dean and chapter became less careful of their splendid church and its services. More and more did the cathedral come to be regarded as the source of their increasing revenues, less and less did they look to it as the fount of their diminishing spiritual enthusiasms.

Dean Lambe died at Ely on August 10th, 1708. The chancel at Wheathampstead received his remains and a brief inscription there marked his grave. "J. L. ob. 10 die Augusti, Anno Dom. 1708. Ætat. suae 60." The cathedral has no memorial of its former dean.

REGINALD GIBBON.

ART. V.—SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

M.-J. LAGRANGE: *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu.*

F. D. MAURICE: *The Kingdom of Christ.*

T. A. LACEY: *Marriage in Church and State.*

J. R. OLIVER: *Pastoral Psychiatry and Mental Health.*

G. E. NEWSOM: *The New Morality.*

PETER GREEN: *The Problem of Right Conduct.*

THE purpose of this article is to consider the particular circumstances in which the parochial clergy are to-day called upon to give advice concerning the permanent principles of Christian conduct in those matters which are included under the seventh commandment. It is not primarily concerned with the rival theories which go by the name of "the new morality," and which are given so thorough and so fair-minded an examination in the late Mr. G. E. Newsom's book.

There is however one thing about the new moralists to which it is worth while to call attention here—their marked tendency to approach sexual questions in terms of a naked individualism. It is the self-expression and the self-realisation of the individual which primarily count. Now, while individualism is a philosophy with a long and honourable history, it is certainly not the creed of the new moralists in other departments of social conduct. No one would describe Lord Russell as a fanatical adherent of *laissez faire* and the Manchester school. When we find men, who have otherwise scornfully discarded a general principle of conduct, making it the foundation of their sexual morality, we are justified in approaching their utterances with extreme caution. The point is one of great importance, for the Christian religion has always regarded the family and not the individual as the funda-

mental unit of society. If this presupposition is disregarded, it is natural that the distinctively Christian position will appear irrational and inhuman.

It is sufficiently clear on reflection that everything which is of value in human life is mediated to man through his membership of societies. A popular novel published recently was concerned with a small child which was carried ashore to an uninhabited island by a sailor after a shipwreck in which the remainder of the passengers and crew perished. The sailor himself shortly afterwards died of exposure. If the child in such circumstances by a miracle survived to maturity, it would be lacking in almost everything which distinguishes human from animal life. We might almost go so far as to say that it was potentially rather than actually human. The noble savage is a figment of eighteenth century romanticism. Caliban is the true representative of man divorced from social ties. Of these ties the family is the most fundamental. In the church man develops his immortal soul. In the ordered life of the nation man finds the security which renders possible the development of civilization. But without the family it is impossible for human life itself to persist on the earth.

It is true that in the most primitive societies many of the rights, functions and duties which we are accustomed to associate with the life of the individual family are discharged by the tribe as a whole. So soon however as the tribe expands beyond real or fictitious kinship into the state, the more intimate relations of human life elude its grasp and become the concern of the family unit within the state.

Marriage constitutes the family, and as such is a necessity for human life. Its basis is physiological. Not only does the child require closer and more prolonged care than the offspring of animals. Man alone gives birth to further offspring while his children already born are still in a state of dependence. Hence the connection of the parents is indefinitely prolonged. Further this prolonged intimacy of man and wife breeds a community of character, which, while it may have had

its roots in sensual passion, is capable of transcending altogether not only its physical origins but also the motive of parenthood itself.

Hence the Christian church teaches the permanent and indissoluble character of marriage. It is of the highest importance to note that the New Testament prohibition of divorce is not based on the specifically Christian revelation of *agape*. It is not "a new commandment give I unto you," but "in the beginning it was not so." Divorce is contrary to the essential structure of human life. It is contrary to the law of nature.

Great confusion has been caused in this matter by a failure to distinguish between the law of nature in the philosophic sense and the laws of nature described by natural science. Canon Green, in the book mentioned at the head of this article, writes (p. 210) of it being impossible to assert that man is *naturally* monogamous, in a way which makes it quite uncertain whether he is using the word in its philosophical or its scientific meaning. Scientific laws of nature are however simply classifications of phenomena, observations of what actually happens. It is impossible for any form of human conduct to be unnatural in the scientific meaning of the word. By happening it becomes the object of observation and classification.

The law of nature in its philosophical meaning is "that state of things in which man finds the fullest and most satisfactory development of his nature." Not the fictitious noble savage but man living in the highest state of civilisation of which he is capable is man living in accordance with the law of his nature. So our Lord does not speak of indissoluble marriage as a condition to which Christians are called in virtue of being his disciples, but in virtue of being men.

There arise however two further questions. What is the true meaning of the apparent exceptions to the universal rule recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel? What should be the attitude of the Christian in his capacity as legislator towards

those who do not accept the New Testament interpretation of the law of nature?

The relevant passages in St. Matthew are "Everyone that putteth away his wife, *saving for the cause of fornication*, maketh her an adulteress" (Mt. v, 32), and "Whosoever shall put away his wife, *except for fornication*, and shall marry another, committeth adultery" (Mt. xix, 9). These utterances have always caused great difficulty because they are apparently in such contradiction to our Lord's teaching as recorded by St. Mark and St. Luke, and as interpreted by St. Paul (*cf.* I Cor. vii). There have been two main attempts at forcible harmonisation. One is to suggest that the unusual word *porneia* means not adultery after marriage but undisclosed fornication before marriage rendering the contract illusory and justifying a declaration of nullity. Since the word *porneia* is used in the Septuagint (Hosea ii, 5; Amos vii, 17) to signify adultery on the part of a married woman, this interpretation may be safely disregarded. The other method is to suggest that the words do not represent our Lord's genuine teaching. There are however no grounds for supposing that they are interpolations into the authentic text of the gospel. Even if it be assumed that they are an interpretative gloss inserted by the evangelist, it is surely inconsistent with any theory of biblical inspiration to hold that an interpretation found its way into the canonical scriptures which was violently subversive of our Lord's teaching on a primary point of Christian conduct.

When we turn to the place of these texts in Christian history, it is impossible to deny that the prevalent opinion in the church, before it entered into relations of alliance with the Roman state, was against permission to remarry. Yet there is one clear case to the contrary in Ambrosiaster, and it is impossible to explain how so devoutly orthodox an emperor as Justinian could have formulated the provisions of his code if there had been no previous current of opinion by which he could justify his action.

It is wiser to desist from attempts to impose a rigorous

consistency on the gospels, and to realise that the complexity of human life eludes full comprehension under a single principle. With the long history of the Western church behind us and the ambiguity which is presented by the gospel records, we shall do well to refrain from solemnising in church the marriages of those who have been divorced for any cause. But to refuse Communion to those who have remarried after a divorce on the ground of adultery, unless they consent to cease living as man and wife, is to act with rigour on a principle which cannot clearly be proved to "be taken out of holy scripture."

How far a Christian should endeavour to secure the formulation of his convictions about marriage in the laws of the state is a matter of expediency. Our Lord says it was for the hardness of men's hearts that the law of Moses tolerated divorce. He refrains from adding that it was wrong for Moses to do so. A Christian will indeed desire that the ordering of marriage, which he believes to be natural to man and to support the highest levels of human civilisation, shall be protected as far as is feasible by positive law. But he will recollect that a law which possesses no sanction in general opinion defeats its own ends. Our generation has received in this matter an unforgettable lesson through the abortive Prohibition experiment in America. Nor does anyone acquainted with the facts doubt that the present English divorce laws entail a sordid and discreditable traffic in commercialised perjury. Too strict a standard of divorce breeds deceit and the contempt of law. Laxity ministers to a corrupt appetite which, like other vices, breeds by indulgence. Wisdom can only seek for that practicable mean which involves the least of either evil.

Divorce is a problem as old as civilisation. The question of birth control has presented itself in novel forms to the Christian church to-day. The element of novelty makes it the more necessary to proceed with extreme caution. We have to apply Christian principles to circumstances in which there is no exact precedent to assist us. On both sides there

are spokesmen who substitute emotion for reason. The "new moralists" suggest that mechanical contrivance can solve the ancient problem of lust; that sexual indulgence can be safely left to its own devices when freed from the concomitant of child-bearing. Reactionaries speak of murder; though it is obvious that the failure of a married couple to bring new life into being by use of birth prevention, whatever it be, is no more murder than the failure of another couple who decide to refrain from sexual intercourse. It is not sought here to give an answer, but to underline the facts which must be properly considered before an adequate answer about birth control can be given.

It appears to be generally conceded by Christian moralists, including authorised Roman Catholic writers, at the present day that it is lawful for parents on adequate grounds to limit the size of their families. There are two reasons for this, one economic and sociological, the other moral and personal.

The first is connected with the difficulties caused by the vast increase of population which has occurred all over the civilised world in the last two centuries. It is widely assumed that there is some natural law of supply and demand which governs the increase of population. Men's thoughts about God are coloured by their own characteristic ideas. If Sir James Jeans conceives of God as a great mathematician, it is not surprising that it should have been considered natural in an era of huge economic expansion for human fecundity to increase providentially in response to increased demands for labour. Such an assumption will not bear investigation. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the population of Ireland, which had been hardly industrialised at all, increased *pari passu* with that of England. No law of fecundity, but the appalling intervention of famine, reduced the population of Ireland to a half its former number. The dominating factor in the modern problem of population is the progressive lowering of the death rate since the beginnings of modern medical science in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The proverbial Victorian family was not in fact more numerous than the families of previous centuries. What was novel was the greatly increased number of children who survived to maturity and old age. A purely accidental conjunction of the increase of population due to a declining death rate with a period of rapid economic expansion obscured for a time the full effects of this momentous development. They are sufficiently apparent to-day. Parents are rightly hesitant to assume responsibility for bringing into the world a family more numerous than even with the severest self-sacrifice they can properly maintain.

The second reason for conceding a right in adequate circumstances to limit the number of children is more fundamental. One of the nobler results of the feminist movement has been a recognition of the equal status of women in marriage. To past generations the loss of life and impoverishment of health among women due to excessive childbearing seemed a normal incident of human life. We know of Victorian families in which the wives suffered disastrous ill-health through continuous miscarriages without it ever occurring to their husbands that it might be their duty to refrain from conjugal relations. Yet these husbands were godly and pious men, as in earlier times many a slaveowner, who felt no qualms of conscience about his position, had been a godly and pious man. It is impossible not to recognise here a genuine awakening of the Christian conscience in a particular department of human conduct. It cannot be right that marital relations should be such as to subject one of the parties to continuous ill-health and often enough to premature death.

The duty then of justice both to wife and children may impose a check other than the limits of natural fecundity upon the size of families. The question remains by what method shall this limitation be secured. Must it be, as the Roman Catholic Church with highly ambiguous reservations insists, by abstention from marital relations, or is birth prevention in any circumstances allowable? It may be remarked in passing

that the use of the so-called "safe period" is no solution. It is not "safe," and it is unjust to the woman because it imposes marital relations upon her precisely at the time when she is mentally and physically least fitted for them.

Abstinence from conjugal relations is maintained by many Christian moralists to be the only lawful method. There are however certain things which must be said. The procreation of children is not the sole end of marriage. It is also, in the downright language of the Prayer Book, "ordained as a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body." It is obvious that this end of marriage is entirely defeated by an abstention from conjugal relations extending it may be over a period of years. The matter is on the contrary made more difficult, for it is an axiom of sexual morality to flee from occasions. But a married couple have solemnly vowed to live together for all their lives, and except among the rich this necessarily involves close physical propinquity. Here surely is the answer to those who argue that the permission of birth prevention in any circumstances within marriage logically involves the recognition of its indiscriminate use among unmarried persons. Marriage is the ordained sphere in which sexual relations alone are lawful, primarily indeed for the procreation of children, but also as the outward expression of an intimate spiritual communion, that "mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other."

The real argument against birth prevention is the opportunity it affords for the exercise of human selfishness. The young married couple, without children, and with too many dispensable luxuries, is the most sinister feature of modern European society.

It may be suggested that the most fruitful line of teaching for the church at the present time is a positive insistence on the blessing and happiness of a rightly ordered married life, rather than a concentration of attention on what should be

forbidden. It is our business to inculcate a nobler scale of values than that which prizes a motor car above the heritage and gift of children. Birth prevention is so dangerous because it is employed by those whose lives are governed by a philosophy of pleasure. The fundamental error lies in the philosophy, not in any material device.

Conscientious Christians, who desire to be able to give profitable advice to their contemporaries, need to realise that they are faced with a new situation in the general recognition of the right to limit the family for disinterested motives. The method of abstention is itself a revolution if compared with the teaching about marital relations in St. Paul's epistles. The moral dangers of birth prevention have been sufficiently advertised. In a novel situation the path of Christian duty is seldom at first plainly discerned. If we avoid the twin pitfalls of selfishness and bigotry we need not doubt that the Christian conscience, as on similar occasions in past history, will eventually be guided to a right decision.

The questions of sexual conduct on which the parish priest may be called on to advise are by no means confined to the right use of marriage. He must be prepared to deal with the homoerotic. Even Canon Green, who holds the antiquated opinion that the homoerotic temperament can be acquired and is not invariably innate, admits that at least two per cent. of the popular are "naturally" of this character. This is certainly an underestimate, but if it is provisionally accepted it means that in a parish with a population of a thousand there will be twenty such persons. Because of affinities between the religious and the homoerotic temperaments, which are well known to psychologists, the proportion among the church-going population will be considerably larger. Though many persons of this sort will be among the most tiresome and difficult with whom the priest has to deal, they will be certainly those who have the greatest need of his wise care and guidance.

The first thing to realise is that just as the physical hermaphrodite is a phenomenon unknown to nature, so no completely

male or female personality exists. In every person there exist in some degree homoerotic as well as heteroerotic affections. If it were not so there would have been no armies in human history. Every soldier knows that the cohesion of an army in a crisis of battle depends far more on a deeply seated sentiment of comradeship than upon any outwardly imposed discipline. Discipline is indeed essential, but it would not be effective if there were no emotion more potent than fear through which it could work. While however in the average person the proportion of heteroerotic to homoerotic sentiment is, let us say, as seventy to thirty, in certain cases the proportions may be reversed; and there is an unlimited amount of variation between these two clean-cut types. While the person whose homoerotic affections are so predominant as to control his or her physical tendencies may be a source of peril to the moral welfare of the community, the person who is deficient in the ordinary proportion of homoerotic affections may also be a destructive influence through lack of a due sense of social solidarity. The important thing is to avoid imagining that men and women are divided into two clear cut, diametrically opposed types—a heteroerotic majority and a homoerotic minority—but to recognise that there is an unlimited series of variations between the two extremes. Further the dominant opinion among psychologists regards the proportions of these affections in any given individual as innate and not acquired.

There are three ways of dealing with definitely homoerotic persons—legal, medical, and spiritual.

It goes without saying that any civilised state must protect by most stringent regulations juveniles both male and female from sexual molestation of any kind. But there are grave reasons for doubting whether legal action is the most effective method of preventing homoerotic offences among adult persons. In the first place there appears to be an emotional confusion involved between the nature of a sin and a crime. Further, it is notorious that such practices are less common in France and Italy where they are not treated as crimes under the Code

Napoleon, than in England or Germany, in which country legal prohibitions were in force till the revolution of 1918. Again, the House of Lords, which in such matters has the benefit of the highest legal advice, rejected in 1921 an amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill bringing homoerotic practices among women within the sphere of the law, on the precise ground that the result would be not the diminution of vice but the increase of blackmail—and, since the emancipation of women, there is no logical ground for a distinction between the sexes in this matter.

What is urged here is, not the desirability of a change in the law, but the recognition by the parish priest of a responsibility which he cannot simply devolve upon the policeman. In any case he will have to deal with homoerotic persons, who never have and never will commit any action which is contrary to the law, but who nevertheless need his help in rightly ordering their lives.

There is a school of thought which regards homoeroticism as a psychological disorder to be cured by the psychotherapist. This not only involves the highly questionable assumption that homoerotic characteristics are eradicable, but the further assumption that homoerotic persons are necessarily pathological subjects. Such a view will be rejected by the historian who knows of men and women who, whatever their moral qualities, combined the highest energy and intellectual power with plainly homoerotic characteristics. It will be rejected by anyone with ordinary experience of the world. He knows people of this kind who have solved their problems on the spiritual plane and have become members of society of the highest value. Is it not obvious that many of the most justly admired and widely influential parish priests, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses have been of this type?

The real problem is mental and spiritual. The first thing to do is to persuade such people that they are not unique nor indeed unusual. They are having to face difficulties which many others have surmounted before them and are surmounting

to-day. They may usefully be told that their position is not more difficult than that of heterosexual persons who for one reason or another are unable to marry. It is the worst possible advice to press homoerotic persons to marry. Such a marriage involves a gross injustice to the prospective husband or wife, who will not be yoked in an equal affection. It will not be for the happiness of the person to whom the advice is given. The true solution will be found when we come to discuss the New Testament doctrine of marriage and virginity.

It is necessary to touch briefly upon the subject of autoeroticism, for every priest who hears the confessions of young people is aware that autoerotic habits are common enough alike among boys and girls. The first mistake to avoid is the giving of a solitary prominence to this sin. It is unchristian to assume that it is immeasurably graver than offences like cruelty and pride. It also defeats its own end. There is a queer psychological reaction by which an obsession of fear about this sin actually tends to promote its commission. It is equally wrong to indulge in warnings of the appalling physical consequences of autoerotic indulgence. It is the plain fact that autoerotic actions, unless practised to excess, like other sexual activities do no physical harm whatever. The real harm lies in the unclean mental phantasies which, apparently invariably accompany such practices, and which coarsen the mind and deface the soul. Indulgence in phantasy is always weakening to the personality. Unclean phantasy debases as well. But the remedy lies in building up the spiritual life as a whole, not in an hysterical concentration on a particular evil habit.

It is the object of this article to suggest that the need of the present day is to recover the full ideal of the New Testament in matters of sexual conduct. That ideal is dual. It proclaims the special excellence of virginity. It exalts the sanctity of married life. That the reformers of the sixteenth century should have lost the ideal of virginity is sufficiently explicable in terms of history. The Reformation was essentially

a protest against the degraded and exaggerated clericalism of the later mediæval church. The degradation was displayed in the scandals attendant upon failure to enforce the rule of celibacy. Exaggerated sacerdotalism was buttressed by the rule of celibacy itself. The mediæval error lay in identifying vocation to the priesthood with a vocation to virginity. Apart from scandals involved in failures to enforce the rule, the rule itself led to an unhappy narrowing of the priesthood. A vocation to holy orders was confined to persons of too uniform a type. Mr. Brian Lunn is right in saying that the family life of the parsonage is a valuable bequest of Luther to the Christian church. The misfortune was that the reformers, in combating compulsory clerical celibacy, lost sight of the ideal of virginity itself. Instead of enriching the variety of Christian life, they still further narrowed it. A single ideal of marriage may be adequate for a simple patriarchal society, it is quite inadequate to the complex life of a modern nation. The result has been the predominantly bourgeois character of historical Protestantism. Hence one of the main contributions of the Anglo-Catholic movement, beneath its purely ephemeral achievements and despite the incurable frivolity and flightiness of its Liguorian section, to the life of the English church has been its recovery of the ideal of virginity.

A church which has no other ideal than that of marriage in the domain of sexual conduct is incapable of dealing with the problems of modern life. The wholesale loss of life during the war has left a generation in which there are thousands of women who will never be able to find a husband. They have indeed a hard life. Of middle-aged women alone it may be reasonably asserted that continence is seriously harmful to health. True enough you will often find a young man who tells you that his health has definitely improved since he abandoned the prejudice in favour of continence in which he was brought up. In such cases it will usually be found that the person concerned has been endeavouring to preserve physical continence while giving free rein to his imagination. The result is not unnaturally acute nervous tension, and an

improvement in health may well follow the abandonment of a struggle which had been waged on hopeless terms from the beginning. Moderate sexual activity is indeed beneficial to human health. But with men the benefit is small. The difference involved is like that between living in a vigorous and an enervating climate. A man ought not to abandon his work in life in order to live as a valetudinarian by the seaside. Nor should he damage his mental integrity for a transitory physical benefit. He is perfectly able to secure his bodily health in quite other ways.

With middle-aged women the position is far more difficult. There appears to be a deep-rooted instinct for maternity which if unsatisfied may cause grave mental and physical disturbances in middle life. This is one of the hardest problems a Christian morality has to solve. Yet even here the instinct of motherhood may and can be sublimated in generous social service. But the church will lamentably fail if it preaches to women who can never find a husband (and in England to-day there are many such) no other ideal than marriage.

What then is the full New Testament teaching? Our Lord in a characteristically violent metaphor speaks with approval of those who "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." It is impossible to deny that St. Paul regards virginity as a more exalted state than marriage. Those who discount this teaching because he believed the end of the world to be imminent will find their argument can be used with equal force against any other principle of Christian conduct. But on what grounds does he so exalt virginity? Manichean ideas have undoubtedly had a great influence in the history to Christian asceticism. We cannot ascribe them to the apostle who regards earthly marriage as so excellent a mystery that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his church. In the New Testament the doctrine of virginity is not based on any belief in the inferiority of marriage. It is part of the heroic vocation. Our Lord does call some men to forsake

all and follow him. The kingdom of Christ has also its need of storm troops. For the full discharge of its mission the Christian church does require men and women freed from the ties and obligations of property and family life. There is no virtue in itself in being unmarried. Many remain unmarried for no better reason than that they are under-sexed and over-selfish.

The great weakness of official Anglicanism is its contempt for the ascetic element in Christianity. The practice of fasting is not only witnessed to by the whole company of saints of the old and new covenants, but taught in example and precept by our Lord himself, as a necessary element of true religion. It is none the less consistently neglected. The doctrine of virginity is similarly ignored.

Yet the witness of the New Testament remains. It exalts marriage. It extols virginity. Though these principles may be hard of logical conciliation, yet they meet in the story of Christmas. The church of Christ reveres the virginity of Mary. It finds the perpetual consecration of marriage in the holy family of Bethlehem and Nazareth.

SOME FIGURES ILLUSTRATING THE PRESENT STATE OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

PROBABLY no other Christian body has been so deeply affected by the War and the political unrest which followed it as the Eastern Orthodox Church. The national churches belonging to this community which have always been considered the very personification of immobility are now passing through a period of reconstruction affecting every aspect of their life. This is seen in the changes both in the extent of their territory and the number of their members. Some of them have increased very considerably and have achieved a complete national consolidation, whilst before the Great War they were divided into several independent churches (for instance, the Churches of Roumania or of Yugoslavia). Others, on the contrary, have lost a large part of their territory and influence. Finally, there are several new churches which sprang up in consequence of the remaking of Europe.

All these changes, which are little known in the West, are an additional obstacle to a better understanding of the present position of the Eastern Orthodox churches. The following figures are intended, therefore, to help an English reader to form a clearer idea of the character of the various churches of which the Eastern Orthodox community is composed.

At present it contains twelve so-called autokephalos churches, which enjoy complete independence in the administration of their internal affairs. There are also thirteen other Orthodox churches which are either canonically dependent on another church or are still in the process of building their canonical structure. A first glance at the figures illustrating the life of these bodies gives the impression of a great variety of size and organisation among the different Orthodox churches. While some of them have many millions of members, the others hardly reach 100,000; in some of them a diocese contains

no more than 20,000 or even 10,000 Christians, while in others there are dioceses of as many as 4,000,000.

All these variations are in keeping with the spirit of Eastern Christianity and it is hardly possible to understand the peculiarities of its present canonical order without recalling some of its fundamental principles.

These may be summarised under three main headings: Community, Nationalism, and Lay Responsibility. The first is the most important and it provides the key to the understanding of the next one.

1. Eastern Orthodox Christians profess a doctrine of church authority which is distinct from both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant conceptions. This doctrine finds its best expression in the Slavonic word "sobornost"—"communality," which corresponds to the expression "catholic" as used in the Nicene Creed. Its exact meaning cannot, however, be expressed in any Western language, for the idea of Sobornost has never been fully developed among Western Christians. The nearest approach to it would be symphonic, communal, integral, as opposed to every form of partiality, sectarianism or exclusiveness. Sobornost is equally incompatible with uniformity and authoritarianism as with unrestrained individualism. Applied to the church, it emphasises the idea of its organic oneness, of its true universality, which welcomes the contribution of all its members with their own national and individual characteristics and yet forms out of them a harmonious unity. Such a doctrine naturally produces far-reaching consequences in the church organisation of Eastern Christians and conditions the peculiar type of inter-relations which exists among various national churches.

The Eastern Orthodox community is a family of self-governing churches, each enjoying complete equality and preserving its national individuality and no one among them can claim a greater authority than another. No one, therefore, is entitled to settle or alter matters concerning the church as a whole; only the unanimous consent of all the autokephalos churches can so sanction a decision or action as to give it binding authority over all Eastern Christians.

Such an absence of central power may mean that the

organisation of the Orthodox Church is not such an easy and smooth machine as that of most Western churches, but it ensures that its decisions are not due to local or temporary considerations but are the expressions of the life of the whole Christian community.¹

The doctrine of "Sobornost" of church authority provides the basis for the two other characteristics of the Eastern churches: the close association between the church and nation, and the large part reserved for laity in the administration of church affairs.

2. For the most part, each of the Eastern churches² is the church of a particular Eastern nation whose language it uses and whose art, especially music, finds its full expression in the worship of the church. So close an association between the church and the nation has some disadvantages; it tends for instance to weaken the fellowship among the Eastern churches or to subdue them too much to the temporal interest or even ambitions of their nations. At the same time, it affords a real opportunity for the full use of national gifts in the worship of God and produces a richness of religious expression which is impossible in more uniform churches.

3. The last characteristic which has an important bearing upon the church life of Eastern Christians is the wide scope of activity assigned to the laity. As the ideal of Sobornost is incompatible with a system of church government which would

¹ As a concrete example of the gradual achievement of a common decision, the recognition of the Anglican orders can be cited. The Patriarchate of Constantinople recognised them in 1922. He was supported by the Church of Cyprus and by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Later the Patriarchate of Alexandria approved the decision, but the other churches have not yet spoken. Thus, the recognition of the Anglican orders remains an act not binding on the Orthodox Church as a whole and expressing only the mind of some of its members. There is, however, a probability that the other churches will gradually accept the judgment of Constantinople and thus the Anglican orders will eventually be recognised by the whole Eastern Orthodox Church.

² The only exception is the Church of the Greek people, which is divided into several autokephalos churches whose origin goes back to the political sub-divisions of the Byzantine Empire.

exclude the responsible participation of the whole body of Christians, it is natural that the laity should take part in the administration of the Eastern churches, having its voice in their local and central organs as well as in the election of clergy. In various national churches the place allotted to laity differs considerably, but where their activity is restricted it is almost always due to the interference of the secular power, anxious to prevent the church from becoming an independent authority.³

In conclusion, it would be useful to recall the main changes which have occurred in the Eastern Church since the end of the Great War. The most striking among these are:

1. The sixteen years' persecution of the Church of Russia, which has cut off the largest church of the East from the rest of her sister churches and turned this wealthy church into a body of martyrs whose whole outlook is radically different from that of pre-revolution times.

2. A drastic decline in the number of faithful actually belonging to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

3. A very considerable growth and consolidation of the churches of Roumania and Yugoslavia, which have become Patriarchates and have since taken an increasingly important part in the life of Eastern Christians.

4. The formation of a number of new churches on the border of lands of the former Russian Empire.

5. The appearance of a large number of Russian exiles in different countries of Europe, which led to the formation of Russian dioceses in the immediate neighbourhood of the Western Christians.

6. The return of the Uniats in Tchechoslovakia and Poland to the Eastern Orthodox Church. (These were separated from it and brought into submission to the See of Rome under political pressure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.)

All these changes, and also the political liberation of most of the Eastern Christian nations, raise many new problems.

³ Such was the case in Russia before the Revolution. A similar situation is created in Poland at present.

One of the most important is that of the relations of the Eastern to the Western Christians, from whom they have been severed for so many centuries. The significance of this problem can hardly be exaggerated, and each of the Eastern churches is trying to face it in its own way. There are still many obstacles to the reconciliation of the East and West. A real knowledge of one another is, however, the first step towards the establishment of their friendly co-operation. The purpose of this article is to facilitate this much needed understanding, which will eventually bring us nearer to the achievement of the great task of the reunion of all Christians in the fold of one holy catholic and apostolic church.

NICOLAS ZERNOV.

Members.	Dioceses.	Bishops.	Parishes.	Clergy.	Monas- teries.	Monks & Nuns.	Theolog. Faculties Higher Theo. Ed.	Seminar 2nd. Theo. Ed.	Period- icals.
AUTOKEPHALOS CHURCHES—									
1. Patriar. of Constantinople									
80,000	3—Turkey								
(Turkey)	4—Dodek.								
60,000	53—Greece			200			—	I	I
(Dodekanese)									
2. Patriar. of Alexandria									
150,000	7 (6—Egypt, 1—N. & S. Africa)	9	75				—	I	3
3. Patriar. of Antioch									
200,000	14	15			17		—	—	I
4. Patriar. of Jerusalem									
50,000	18	6							I
5. Patriar. of Russia (under persecution)									
116,000,000*	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	0	?	0	0	I?
6. Patriar. of Roumania									
15,000,000	20 (18 Rouman., 31 2 outside)	31	12,000	14,000	100	5,000	3	13 (5 Ac. 8 Sem.)	60
7. Patriar. of Yugoslavia									
6,985,000	28 (21 Ygs. 7 outside)	30	2,864	2,500	205	560	I	5	16
8. The Church of Greece.									
5,961,600	33 & 53†	86			250	1,700	I	12	24
9. The Church of Bulgaria.									
5,000,000	10	20	2,390	2,560	93	150	I	2	12

Members.	Dioceses.	Bishops.	Parishes.	Clergy.	Monas- teries.	Monks & Nuns.	Theolog. Faculties Higher Theo. Ed.	Theolog. Seminar 2nd. Theo. Ed.	Period- icals.
10.	The Orthodox Church in Poland.								
4,500,000	5	8	1,704	2,000	12	700	1	2	6
11.	The Church of Georgia (under persecution).								
2,000,000	5	?	?	?	0	?	0	0	0
12.	The Church of Cyprus.								
250,000	4								1
THE CHURCHES UNDER JURISDICTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE									
13.	The Orthodox Church in Estonia.								
250,000	2	2	45	70	9	180	-	1	2
14.	The Church of Albania.								
220,000	4	1	438		27		-	-	-
15.	The Orthodox Church in Finland.								
73,600	2	1	29	65	4		-	1	2
THE EASTERN ORTHODOX DIOCESES IN DIASPORA UNDER JURISDICTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE									
16.	The Russian Church in Western Europe.								
80,000	1	4	75	80	3	25	1	-	5
17.	The Orthodox Church in Australia.								
10,000	1	1	9 (5 Grk., 2 Rus., 2 Syr.)	11 (7 Grk., 2 Rus., 2 Syr.)	-	-	-	-	1
THE CHURCHES UNDER JURISDICTION OF PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM									
18.	The Church of Sinai.								
300	1	1			1		-	-	-
THE CHURCHES UNDER JURISDICTION OF MOSCOW.									
19.	The Orthodox Church in Lithuania.								
50,000	1	1					-	-	1

Members.	Dioceses.	Bishops.	Parishes.	Clergy.	Monas- teries.	Monks & Nuns.	Theolog. Faculties Higher Theo. Ed.	Theolog. Seminar 2nd. Theo. Ed.	Period- icals.
20. The Orthodox Church in Latvia.									
159,528	1	1	148	126	5	40 ⁴⁰ (W-3 (W-37 M-2) M-3)	-	1	1
(63,452 Lat.			(70 Lat.						
96,528 Rus.)			78 Rus.)						
21. The Orthodox Church in Japan.									
40,000	1	1		50	-	-	-	-	1
THE CHURCHES UNDER JURISDICTION OF JUGOSLAVIAN PATRIARCHATE									
22. The Orthodox Church in Tchecoslovakia.									
200,000	2	2	160	170	6	150	-	-	2
THE CHURCHES OF IRREGULAR JURISDICTIONS.									
23. The Orthodox Church in U.S.A. and Canada.									
3,000,000	4	14 (2 Grk.	105						
	Greek	1 Serb.	Greek						
	1	10 Rus.							
	Serbian	1 Arab)							
24. The Russian Church in China and Manjuko.									
150,000	5	5							1
25. The Churches of Russian emigrants led by the Karlovzy Synod.									
50,000	-	10	40		3			1	1

* These figures give the number of members of the Russian Church before the Revolution. In order to have an approximate idea of the Russian Church before the Revolution the following figures of 1913 could be quoted : Bishops 148, Parishes 42,270, Monasteries 934, Monks and Nuns 92,123.

† 53 Dioceses in Greece are nominally under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

FORMGESCHICHTE.

From Tradition to Gospel. By MARTIN DIBELIUS, PH.D., D.TH., Professor of New Testament in Heidelberg. Translated from the Revised Second Edition of *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* in collaboration with the Author, by BERTRAM LEE WOOLF, PH.D., M.A., B.Sc., B.D., Professor of New Testament in Hackney and New College, University of London. (Ivor Nicholson and Watson Limited, London, 1934).

FORMGESCHICHTE is (as far as I am aware) the most recent direction which German criticism has taken. It is therefore an advantage that we should have in the English language an authoritative statement of its aims and methods from the hand of Dr. Martin Dibelius, who is well known to many theologians in this country, and was himself the originator of this critical method.

I.

What is Formgeschichte? Its purpose is thus described in the preface:

“The method of Formgeschichte has a twofold objective. In the first place, by construction and analysis, it seeks to explain the origin of the tradition about Jesus, and thus to penetrate into a period previous to that in which our gospels and their written sources were recorded. But it has a further purpose. It seeks to make clear the intention and real interest of the earliest tradition. We must show with what objective the first churches recounted stories about Jesus, passed them from mouth to mouth as independent narratives, or copied them from papyrus to papyrus. In the same manner we must examine the sayings of Jesus and ask with what intention these churches collected them, learnt them by heart, and wrote them down. The present-day reader should learn to read the

individual passages of the early tradition in the way they were meant, before the time when, more or less edited, they were included in the gospels."¹

We may pause a moment to comment on this passage. We have probably most of us assumed that the object in recording the deeds and words of Jesus was to gratify what would seem to us the natural desire to know about his life, and that it was the knowledge of the life, and death and resurrection of Jesus which inspired the preaching of the Christian church, but we are to understand that the reverse is the case. It was the preaching of the gospel which created the record of the life of Jesus, the primitive church took no interest in it. This is stated quite explicitly:

"The paradigm reveals itself in fact as the narrative form whose use we could assume in the preachers of the gospel. It is the only form in which the tradition of Jesus could be preserved at a time when a yearning for the end and a consciousness of estrangement from the world would still entirely prevent concern for a historical tradition or the development of a literature in the technical sense of the world."²

Now I venture to think that there is practically no justification at all for this statement. That is not the idea that we get from the record of the Acts, nor, if this was a direct description of the primitive mentality of the church, could we understand why they preached the gospel. It is also entirely at variance with historical statements. The speech of St. Peter at the conversion of Cornelius is quite explicit:

"The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: (he is Lord of all :) That word, I say, ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of *all things*

¹ *From Tradition to Gospel*, p. v.

² *op. cit.*, p. 69.

which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem."³

Here we have an explicit statement that the whole life of Jesus was part of the knowledge of the church. This is exactly what we should expect, that the early Christians would cherish the knowledge of the life of Jesus and the records of his words.

But in order to understand Dr. Dibelius' book we must realise the different mental attitude there is about the life of Jesus in German critical circles and among ourselves. We are brought up to accept the life of Jesus revealed in the gospels as historical. We believe that it is true history unless the contrary is proved, and our religious position is built on that belief. The critical position which Dr. Dibelius clearly inherits is that no part of it is historically true unless it can be proved so. The religious position of the early Christians is based on the preaching of a gospel and that gospel created the life of Jesus. What created the gospel it is very hard to discover. Dr. Dibelius' work therefore, which to us seems destructive, would, we believe in German circles, be looked upon as constructive. To most English readers he would seem to be devoting himself to destroy the credibility of the gospels. He would I think claim to be supporting it. It sometimes indeed seems, as we read the results of a certain type of criticism, that the one thing we may feel certain of is that nothing happened as it is recorded. The German professors know far better what happened than St. Mark or St. Luke. Unfortunately we find that they do not agree together, and St. Mark and St. Luke generally do.

II.

But we must examine Dr. Dibelius' methods, and the difficulty presents itself that any examination which is not as complete as his own will not be really satisfactory. We can only examine some instances.

He divides the stories in the gospels into three different classes—paradigms, tales, and legends. Paradigms are stories where the action is subordinate to the teaching. Tales are

³ Acts x, 36-39.

stories where the main interest is in the action. Legends show an interest in a particular person. No doubt there are different sorts of stories, but the creation of these different categories seems very artificial. And this seems to be still more the case if we study the method of dealing with the paradigms. They ought (so we are told) to have certain definite characteristics—isolation; external rounding-off; brevity and simplicity; lack of portraiture. The colouring of the narrative is realistic and unworldly. They end in a thought useful for preaching purposes. We do not know why they should have these characteristics. When a person preaches for example, a touch of portraiture adds to the interest of the sermon. In fact the whole seems to be very arbitrary, and the stories are made to conform to the model by the ruthless elimination of every passage which conflicts with these rules. On page 44 and following will be found many instances of this. "Endings which point to a more extended connection no longer belong to the original form of the paradigm, hence Mark iii, 6, is an illustrative remark of the evangelist"—"Mark xi, 18, is foreign to the original section." "Mark iii, 20 and 21, was written by the evangelist as an introduction preparatory to the story in iii, 31." "In the story of the inhospitable Samaritans both the beginning and the ending have been edited."

So again lack of portraiture is a characteristic of these stories. So we are told in this same story the names of James and John have been added. So also in Mark x, 41, 42. The names of the two sons of Zebedee must be eliminated, and any reference to their fate, which is a *vaticinium post eventum*.

We might add instances but all this is enough to show how extremely arbitrary the method is. Certain stories are or ought to be paradigms. If they do not conform to the model they must be altered until they do. This is really quite worthless criticism.

We notice further that the idea that a story was effective for teaching purposes is to be ascribed only to the preacher. The idea that these stories are effective because they record the actual words and acts of Jesus and that he was a wonderful teacher and preacher is never contemplated. The stories as

we have them have been put together or built up by preachers and evangelists.

The story of the rich man in Mark x, 17 ff., is very troublesome to Dr. Dibelius. It has human interest, but it ought to be a paradigm because it ends with a teaching phrase. But we must not think it is an individual sketch. The words "he loved him" do not refer to an attitude of mind, for "a narrative so terse in all essentials does not describe feelings." The phrase concerning the rich in the kingdom of heaven has been worked up in Mark into a little dialogue. The story reveals therefore in its original form not a personal, but a material interest.

Now why should there not be a personal interest? If an ordinary reader had the story before him, he would feel that the personal element and the picturesque details added to the beauty of the picture and our reverence for Jesus. Even if its origin was a sermon, why should the sermon be dull? But we require no sermon. This was an incident which was remembered and related, and its beauty lies in the fact that it is a true portrait of Jesus.

But when we have got rid of everything interesting and everything picturesque from a paradigm, what is left historically trustworthy?

"It may be regarded as proved that it was only in connection with preaching that traditions about the story of Jesus could have been preserved among those unliterary men waiting for the end of the world, we have at the same time obtained a criterion of historicity; the nearer a narrative stands to the sermon the less is it questionable, or likely to have been changed by romantic, legendary, or literary influences."⁴ "Because the eyewitnesses could control and correct, a relative trustworthiness of the paradigms is guaranteed."⁵ But this is only relative—an instance of what has been added are the words "whoever does the will of God the same is my brother and sister and mother."⁶

⁴ p. 61.

⁵ p. 62.

⁶ pp. 63, 64.

So again the story of the healing of the paralytic as told in St. Mark ii, 1-12, has all the characteristics of a true story. But it has a special difficulty. "The first issue, forgiveness of sins, or healing, is crossed by a second: Who can forgive sins?"⁷ So we have to believe that verses 6-10 were added by the preacher. Now I think the ordinary reader would feel that the whole story (setting aside the miraculous element, with which we are not concerned at present) was vivid and natural. Was the picturesque incident of letting the sick man through the roof invented? Was the arguing of the scribes unnatural? Quite naturally they were present, for every one had come to hear the new preacher. Was it unnatural that if Jesus worked miracles he should thus appeal to the testimony of his power? Is it not much more natural to believe that this story was told originally by one who was there and handed down, whether by word of mouth or by writing, than that it was gradually constructed in the interest of propaganda by a process of accretion?

III.

We are accustomed when we read a vivid and picturesque story to think that it has come from someone who was there, and naturally (if he was a good narrator) pictured the scene as it was impressed on his mind, or else he was a literary artist. But we must not think in that way of the tales, the somewhat longer stories which we are told had no preaching interest. All these touches do not go back to the original narrative but are added "for propaganda purposes."

Let us take the story of the widow of Nain. "What appears above all to be the contribution of Luke, the evangelist who depicts feelings and who mentions women, is the verse (Luke vii, 13): 'And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her and said unto her, Weep not.' If we separate this sentence and perhaps also the mention of another in verse 15b,⁸ we obtain a closer and better connection."⁹

⁷ p. 66.

⁸ (And he gave him back to his mother).

⁹ p. 75.

You will notice that every human touch is ruthlessly omitted, nor are we allowed to think that it is based on any sort of tradition. It is, to put it plainly, an invention of St. Luke.

But this is not all that the story suffers:

“In these words, which remind one of the language of the Septuagint, ‘A great prophet is arisen amongst us and God hath visited his people,’ we have one of those choruses, common to both the categories of paradigm and tale, but which have a different significance. A cry of such a nature always betrays an interest in the use for propaganda purposes of the incident narrated. But such a unique event as the raising of the young man at Nain was not preserved in tradition in order to serve as an illustration in a sermon. The narrative is too sorrowful for that.”¹⁰

We really do not understand the argument, but the point apparently is that we must not think this a paradigm, although it resembles one. Surely this shows how artificial the whole distinction is. Some stories are longer than others, some more vivid and picturesque; the lesson in some is to be deduced from the story, in others there is a striking saying of our Lord; but the division of these stories into different classes seems to me purely arbitrary and unreal, and is only made possible by altering the form of the story to make it correspond to type.

IV.

It will, I think, be of value to see how the passion story is treated. It is recognised that here we had early and connected narrative. “Its relative self-sufficiency strikes everyone . . . In no respect is that remarkable. For what we know of the Christian message make us expect a description of the whole passion in the course of a sermon, at least in outline. Every formulation of the message as preached mentions the facts of the passion and the Easter story. They contained the decisive soteriological event, whose understanding gave a basis for Christian faith from the divine, not the human, standpoint.

¹⁰ p. 75.

The man who understood this shocking event, the execution of Jesus, on the basis of the Easter faith, as a victory, was a Christian."¹¹

The story in St. Mark is, we are told, based on an earlier form, but there are some things to note about it. It could not be very early for "what happened in Jerusalem at that time must have been so offensive and ignominious that a record of these things could only seem a document of shame and disgrace."¹²

It would not be narrated until it had been proved by the scriptures that all things had happened according to God's will. It arose from understanding of the story of salvation. "The passion had its home, not in teaching and uplifting the individual, but in carrying the message to the church, i.e. in the sermon."¹³ We must leave out such modern misunderstandings as to suppose that it "meant to describe stirring and heroic events, or to illumine a historical happening. The earliest passion story was neither stirring nor heroic. It contained no word speaking of the human greatness of Jesus in suffering, none intended to appeal to the human feelings of the reader."¹⁴ Of course this is proved as will be seen by leaving out any passage which might create that impression.

Now let us see how St. Mark altered the account. We are told that he replaced the narrative of an appearance of the risen Lord to Peter by the legend of the empty grave. As far as I can judge there is no rational justification for this statement. It is simply made to eliminate the story of the empty grave—which people don't like. The reason alleged is Mark xiv, 28: "But after I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee." The argument is one I entirely fail to understand. Moreover, if I were to follow the example of Professor Dibelius and cut out any passage which is puzzling I might certainly claim to say that this must be an interpolation because it clearly breaks the continuity of the dialogue. But I do not

¹¹ pp. 178-179.

¹² p. 184.

¹³ p. 185.

¹⁴ p. 185.

care for such methods. It is much better to say there are some things I do not altogether understand.

Then the scene before the Sanhedrin must be omitted because of the confusion shown by the words "but even so the witnesses did not agree." Again I entirely fail to understand the argument. The account as we have it is entirely natural. The witnesses disagreed, but Jesus when appealed to confessed he was the Messiah. But really (we are to understand) St. Mark invented the story so as to exhibit the grandeur of Jesus.

So again we must omit the story of the confession of the centurion. This was introduced as a psychological miracle so as to show how the martyr converted his executioner.

There is a long discussion on the Last Supper, from which we gather that we must content ourselves with the record of the cultus. If that be so, what created the cultus?

The story of Gethsemane cannot be regarded as an historical tradition, nor as an early legend. It is artificial. The story is based on the psalms, which started the idea that Jesus in his time of suffering had prayed to God for deliverance with strong crying and tears. "Mark built this material up into a process. A traditional word of Jesus gave him cause for this, when it exhorted watchfulness and prayer in the last days . . . He also put the prayer of Jesus into direct speech with an application of the metaphor of the cup of suffering which was probably already common, and with the emphasis upon what was for him the main thing, Jesus' submission to the will of God. The whole grew, if only by suggestion, into an occurrence by extending the prayer into three acts of prayer, and by separating off the three disciples in the way already found in the gospel tradition. In this way the material gathered out of the Old Testament became a revelation of Jesus' obedience in opposition to the inert and dull disciples."¹⁵

This is amazing.

I think I have quoted enough for our purpose. I quoted above a statement that there was nothing heroic in the original passion story. That must have seemed a strange remark, but

¹⁵ pp. 212, 213.

we see how this conclusion is attained—every event which is strong or heroic or gives us true conception of the human greatness of Jesus is eliminated. It is the same critical or rather pseudo-critical process we have already examined. It seems to me scientifically quite worthless.

And our readers must understand what this modern criticism means. The old rationalistic criticism aimed at doing away with the supernatural, but it left us a human figure of ethical beauty, but this newer criticism takes away this too. Every trait which might tell us something of the beauty of our Lord's character must go. It was the creation of the Christian church.

V.

We have not space to investigate more of this work. We find the same arbitrary procedure throughout, and we must pass to some larger questions which the study of it arouses.

The first is the general question. Is there any justification for treating the gospel narratives in the way that Dr. Dibelius and many other Germans do? It is maintained that the primitive Christian community took no interest in the life of Christ, that all the knowledge that they possessed was in the form of quite short stories—which themselves were of very doubtful authenticity, and a certain very limited number of sayings. These were gradually arranged on purely artificial principles. Much was added to deduce practical or doctrinal conclusions. The dialogues we have were constructed. The legends were devised to tell people about individuals they were interested in. It was only later that their interest arose. The story of the passion was gradually built up in accordance with religious needs. Everything which revealed the character of Jesus was part of this mythopoeic work. In fact the whole history has little authentic foundation.

Now is there any ground for accepting this? I believe very little.

In the first place it is not probable. There is no evidence that the primitive Christians were miserable eschatologists waiting for the end of the world. From the beginning they

would want to remember the words and deeds of Christ. The new converts would want to hear them and there would be many who had their stories to tell.

Then, secondly, all the evidence (we have quoted some of it above) is to the effect that the whole life of Jesus was of interest. We are particularly told of the apostle Matthias, that he had been selected from the number of those who had been with Jesus from the beginning:

“Wherefore of these men which have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection.”¹⁶

We are not concerned with the question whether these words are authentic; what is undoubted is that they represent the opinion of the church at a not much later date, and they are corroborated by other similar statements.

Then there is the definite statement of St. Luke in his preface that there was catechetical instruction of the life and words of Jesus for the ordinary Christians, that there were many who had written some record of Jesus, and that their knowledge of these things was derived from those who had been eye-witnesses and preachers, that is no doubt from the apostles. To that we must add the specific statement that the knowledge of St. Mark was derived from St. Peter, a statement probable in itself, an adequate explanation of the facts and one that there would be no reason to doubt except on the hypothesis that if a statement is made by an ancient authority it must be incorrect.

There are then these two explanations before us of the gospel narrative. The one is that it has taken the form that it has because it narrates—not always accurately and not always very fully—the life of Jesus as it happened. Every historian arranges his facts as best he can. That is equally true of a modern and ancient historian. There are two principles that we all follow. The one is arrangement by chronology, the other is arrangement by subject matter. Both these methods

¹⁶ Acts i, 21, 22.

have been pursued by the writers of the gospels. We cannot be always certain which method is being followed. The comparison of different accounts show us that there was a considerable amount of uncertainty, but substantially the record of the life, the words, and the acts is based upon the life of Jesus.

The other explanation tells us that our lives of Jesus were the creation of Christian faith.

"The first understanding afforded by the standpoint of *Formgeschichte* is that there never was a 'purely' historical witness to Jesus. Whatever was told of Jesus' words and deeds was always a testimony of faith and formulated for preaching and exhortation in order to convert unbelievers and confirm the faithful. What founded Christianity was not knowledge about a historical process, but the confidence that the context of the story was salvation: the decisive beginning of the End.

"In saying this we have already touched upon the second theological goal of the standpoint of *Formgeschichte*. It undertakes to portray that understanding of the story of Jesus, by which the various formulations of the material are dominated. We showed in chapter vii that the earliest passion story, as far as it can be recognised in Mark, does not mean to present events in the historical sense. Although in a few places it depends upon the information of eyewitnesses, it does not purpose to narrate and prove the sequence of events, nor to stir and exhort people by the description of the passion. But, as is also quite obviously the purpose of the editing by Mark, it proposes to describe salvation, i.e. the fulfilment of God's will as revealed in the Old Testament. But this presentation could only be made by one who had faith, i.e. the Easter faith. In the sense of history the undertaking would have been a tremendous paradox. Only he who in faith saw the continuation of the events of the passion, viz. the risen Lord enter into his glory with the Father and his return to earth as the Lord of the kingdom of God, only he could have undertaken so to describe the shameful events of his arrest and execution than an eternal counsel of God were visible in them."¹⁷

¹⁷ pp. 295, 296.

Now there are two things confused in this statement. We should all agree that St. Mark wrote his gospel to show how Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and to describe the meaning of the crucifixion, and with that purpose quotes the Old Testament passages which he believes had been fulfilled. But did he also invent the history?

Let us take a concrete example. "The confession of Peter makes a turning point. After the disciples were convinced of the status of the Master, there commence the prophecies of suffering which certainly originate from the evangelist."¹⁸

Now a theologian who believes in the general correctness of our narrative points out how gradually Jesus leads his disciples on by instruction and action until they recognise his Messiahship. Then quite naturally he begins to correct their idea of what the Messiah would be like, and Peter (and no doubt others also) were shocked and troubled at this destruction of all their hopes, and then comes the rebuke of Peter: "Get thee behind me Satan: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of man."

All this seems to me natural, but Dr. Dibelius would have us believe that all this was an ingenious invention of St. Mark who constructed or invented the whole story to suit the theological demands of a later date.

Now to my mind all this seems absurd. It is not the way in which any intelligent person would write history or criticise sources. But I think there are two very strong reasons against the whole of this process. The first is that until recently those who have tried to study the life of our Lord, working in the way that any secular historian would work, comparing sources, harmonising narratives in the way that we put together our story of events in history by the careful study of different accounts, have been able to put together a quite intelligent account of the life of our Lord.

The second is this. If the gospel narrative, with the exception of a certain number of quite insignificant instances and sayings, was the creation of faith, what created faith? The whole of this superstructure has nothing on which it can stand.

¹⁸ p. 230.

To us it was the life and work and words of Jesus, his death and resurrection, which created faith and were the source of the Christian faith and life. They are adequate. They explain to us why the earliest Christians believed in Christ, and whence they drew their inspiration which enabled them to transform the religion of the world and elevate human life to a height hitherto unknown. The sequence is natural and rational; Dr. Dibelius' reconstruction is neither.

We began by examining Dr. Dibelius' method of dealing with his material and ventured to suggest that his method was arbitrary and unscientific. We might had we had time and space have continued the examination through the book. He starts with arbitrary assumptions and arrives at his conclusions by altering his facts to agree with what he wants us to believe. We have also examined his general outlook and found it equally unscientific. He entirely fails to explain the fact of Christianity.

VI.

But I would pass on to make some more general remarks on German theology. I do so with a full appreciation of the industry and erudition the Germans have displayed in many walks of learning. We are continually indebted to them not only for the material with which they supply us, but also for the mental stimulus which the examination of their ingenious errors and one-sided presentation provides, but we must candidly say that they seem to us most inadequate guides in our search for truth.

Let us look on what they have done for us as a whole. This *Formgeschichte* is the most recent of the theories that we have been presented with. Dr. Dibelius' book is the last of those which have been thrown at our heads by those English theologians whose idea of the attainment of truth is to accept without criticism the latest German book. What a succession those have been. To take only a few, there was Baur. We remember how that very superior person Mrs. Humphrey Ward made us feel how ignorant we were because we did not accept his reconstruction of history. But who believes him now? And how much of his theory of the fundamental antagonism of St. Paul and St. Peter has been preserved? And then

there was the Liberal Christ whom Harnack presented to us. All his work was much more intelligent than most of what we have received. But he left out large sections of the gospel, and then came Schweitzer with his eschatology and built up his picture of the historical Jesus on all those portions of the narrative which Harnack had ignored, and he wants us to leave out the ethic of Jesus. It was only an interim ethic. And now comes Dr. Dibelius, who tells us that the Christian church created the historical Jesus, and takes away from us not merely the supernatural Christ, but the great teacher who transformed the basis of human morality, and what Dr. Sanday described as "the sweet and blessed figure of Jesus of Nazareth."

Where is there anything scientific in all this riot of theories, unproved and unprovable?

I want in a spirit of real friendliness to criticise from this point of view the development of German theology. I am one of those who feels profound distress for the present fate of that country. However wrong-headed we may think that the Germans have often been, I cannot forget what a large part they have played in the development of human thought; how much we owe to their philosophy, and their science, their historical research, and their literary criticism; how stupendous has been their industry and devotion to learning. But equally do we feel how wrong-headed they are whether in their practical conduct of life, or their theoretical teaching. And this especially in their theology.

As I read Dr. Dibelius' book I cannot but feel how little nourishment to the religious soul there is in such methods of treating the gospel story. It destroys the most beautiful life and teaching the world have ever seen. There is no more beautiful passage in the gospels than St. Matthew xi, 25-30, especially the words "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." Surely here we have a unique presentation of the character of Jesus, and the consolation of the gospel. They represent the depths of religious experience.

Now we ask our readers to ponder carefully over the comment on this passage on p. 280.

"The Christological content, the concentration on the ego of the speaker in the third strophe, the mystic response in the second, the totally unevangelical idea of 'rest'—all this indicates the religious and historical place of the text to be outside of the sayings of Jesus. But what is still more important is that the whole text serves for the self-recommendation of the speaker and of the revelation brought by him." *"This combination of self-recommendation and of the preaching of conversion is the typical mark of the divine or semi-divine herald of a revelation in Hellenistic religiousness, i.e. of a mythological person."* (The italics are the author's).

We really cannot understand this. Anything more unhellenistic we cannot conceive. We seem to be in the heart of the gospel. The difference between us is very deep.

But to us all this is very sad. The theological student in Germany seems to be offered either an unreal, irrational soteriology by Barth and Brunner or else criticisms such as this. What we think that he needs is that he should go back to the spiritual study of the gospels of Christ. We can find in all this modern criticism no arguments adduced why we should not treat these biographies as many others that have come to us from the ancient world. We do not accept them as infallible or as inerrant or as verbally inspired. They are clearly not that. They are a record of life and words narrated by eye-witnesses and handed down by tradition. They present a homogeneous picture of a life, a teacher, a prophet. They present something better and more beautiful than the world has ever experienced before or since. When a theological student came to me in intellectual perplexity I used to recommend him to read and study and brood over the record of the gospels. The German people and the German Church are in unhappiness and perplexity. I would with the utmost respect and with warm affection recommend to them the study of the gospel narrative, not as a field for the display of ingenious and wrong-headed criticism, but as the richest source of refreshment for their souls, of guidance for their lives, and of consolation for their unhappiness.

A. C. GLOUCESTER:

REVIEWS.

The Church of Israel. By R. H. KENNETT, D.D. Edited with an Introduction by S. A. COOK. (Cambridge : at the University Press). 249 pp.

THIS book will serve a two-fold purpose : to those who were privileged to hear Dr. Kennett preach and teach, it will bring memories of many inspiring moments ; to those who are unfamiliar with his work it gives in simple form the main conclusions he came to as historian and critic and will form a valuable introduction to further study of his writings. With regard to the conclusions that he came to, it may be said that they will always remain a subject of controversy, for the simple reason that on the questions dealt with, certainty is impossible, and it is a matter largely of conjecture and probability. At all events it may be said that Dr. Kennett always had good reasons to offer for his views ; and that in order to reach his conclusions he employed real hard work, reasoning and investigation, and rarely gave way to rash assumption or handy conjecture. Of his knowledge of Hebrew there is no need to speak ; as an historian, dealing with his own special province, he combined great knowledge with the power of making dead bones live ; and he was master of a clear simple style which could make even the most technical question vivid and interesting.

In this posthumous volume, admirably edited and introduced by Mr. S. A. Cook, we have brought to us Dr. Kennett's views on the date of the Book of Deuteronomy, which he places later than Jeremiah, and not as so many critics do in the reign of Josiah. This point is one of dispute, and will probably never be finally settled. Nor again will all agree with the immense stress he lays upon the Maccabæan age. All the Psalms in their present form, were according to Dr. Kennett, the work of this period. Of this view the Editor says "For myself I venture to think that Kennett has made as strong a case for the Maccabæan standpoint as can well be made. But because events of the second century B.C. could explain this prophecy or that Psalm it does not follow that the passage in question belongs to that period and is not an earlier

one that applies equally to the later situation. Many scholars hesitate to suggest a particular historical background for this or the other Psalm; whereas Kennett could argue that his own theory provided the simplest and most consistent explanation of all of them."

On the question of Sacrifice Dr. Kennett is also in opposition to many Biblical critics. The idea that in the Sacrifices of the Old Covenant we may find a prophetic type of the Sacrifice of Calvary was repudiated by him with something like horror. He held that the greater Prophets totally condemned the sacrificial system, and that our Lord's attitude to it was identical with theirs. This again is a question which will always cause division; but his reasons for his view are worth respect and attention. Though Dr. Kennett's work attracted less notice than it deserved, yet we venture to think that he has an assured and lasting position as a critic, teacher, and historian.

For one thing, all his work was his own: his conclusions were the result of his own thought and study. The work of many critics is too like a patch-work quilt; in it we find much piecing together of the ideas of others, especially Germans, but very little individual thought and character. There was a creative power in Kennett's writings, which makes them works of art as well as contributions to knowledge. He was too, not only a critic, but a deeply religious man, and his religion gave a prophetic fire to his work which we rarely find in so called Biblical criticism. Whether we agree with what he says or not; we are compelled by his zeal for truth, his love of righteousness, his intense enthusiasm. It was this religious fervour and enthusiasm which made him such a powerful teacher, especially of young men. He inspired them with the zeal they needed, and if afterwards they may in some ways have differed from his views, they acknowledged that it was to him they owed the inspiration which started them on their way. The characters of the Old Testament lived for Kennett, and he made them live for others.

To those who were privileged to hear him the printed page may well seem cold compared with the spoken word, but these essays will revive old memories, and will also form an admirable introduction for those who are not yet acquainted with Kennett's writings and work.

S.A.

Is the Resurrection True? By D. F. BRUNDRIT. (Philip Alan. 173 pp.). 5s. net.

THIS book deserves more attention than it will probably get; for when we find that a book on a religious question is written by one who claims to be neither theologian nor philosopher, we are inclined to waive it aside as of nothing worth, and condemn it unread, as the work of the mere amateur. This is a mistake, for the mere amateur sometimes brings to his subject a freshness of thought and outlook, which is often sadly lacking in the professional theologian.

This book is a case in point. Mr. Brundrit approaches his subject not as a theologian but as a lawyer. He examines the evidence for the Resurrection and against it, with all the acumen and skill of a lawyer examining a case in court; sifting it thoroughly, rejecting this, accepting that, until he comes to what he considers a fair verdict on the question.

The fact that he does not accept all the evidence; that when it seems to him untrustworthy, as to the Ascension or the placing of a guard over our Lord's tomb, he rejects it without hesitation, only makes the conclusions he comes to the more valuable.

His examination of the evidence for the empty tomb is especially interesting, because this is a question which many are inclined to shirk or minimise. The Liberal theologian will say that as long as the disciples saw the risen Christ, the question as to whether the tomb was empty or not, is unimportant. But is this really true, or is it merely the easiest, and therefore the worst way, out of a difficulty? What was it prepared the disciples to see the risen Lord? It is plain from the gospel that they had quite misunderstood his words about his rising again, and that at the crucifixion they were thrown into despair with their faith shattered. In such a mood they would not have believed in the appearance of the Master. What had prepared them for it? Surely it could be nothing less than the firm conviction that the tomb was empty, and the body of our Lord vanished.

Mr. Brundrit deals very scrupulously with the various theories that have been advanced to account for the empty tomb. (1) That our Lord was not dead, but in a swoon. That he revived and lived for a short time in hiding. (2) That the

disciples hid the body. (3) That the Jews took the body away for fear the tomb should become the centre of a cult. None of these will bear examination. The first would assume a cynical deceit not only on the part of the disciples but of our Lord himself wholly inconsistent with the gospel narrative. The second involves us in the belief that the disciples were willing to undergo persecution and death for preaching what they knew to be untrue; this, to say the least of it, is psychologically unsound. The third falls to the ground, because when the preaching of the Resurrection began, the Jews could have destroyed it by shewing where the body really was. No attempt to do this was ever made. A more plausible explanation is that favoured by Professor Lake, that the women coming to anoint our Lord's body early on Easter morning mistook the tomb and met a young man, who frightened them. "The young man, probably a gardener, really said 'He is not here, behold where they laid him,' pointing to another tomb. They ran away without looking in at all and said nothing to anyone till after the appearances had occurred in Galilee or Jerusalem."

This theory is, as the author says, the most formidable because of its obvious psychological possibility. He rejects it because: (1) "The women would be unlikely to mistake the tomb when they had watched the burial for the express purpose of noting where it was in order later to come and anoint the body. (2) Most probably they entered the tomb, which on this theory they cannot have done. (3) If the risen Lord was preached at once the Jews could have disproved the Resurrection by getting hold of the gardener, making him tell the story of the ridiculous mistake made by the women; and getting him to take them to the real tomb. The real tomb would have stood months, even years, later, with its great stone unmoved and mouldering remains inside."

If the risen Lord was preached at once! The author faces the fact that much depends on whether we accept the opening chapters of Acts as a trustworthy picture of the earliest church or no. If they are authentic then the Resurrection was preached immediately, and any fraud could have been easily exposed. If however we have in them a record of a later period, ante-dated, then the case is altered. If with the author we acknowledge that chronology was not St. Luke's strong

point, and that like other writers of his time he uses *oratio obliqua* in narrative for what he thought must have been or ought to have been said; granting even that his two accounts of the Ascension are inconsistent one with the other, and that his description of Pentecost was not very reliable, can we still accept the speech of St. Peter in Acts ii as a true account of the early Christian preaching? Mr. Brundrit would do so, because he says: "When they started preaching, what else but the Resurrection was there for them to preach? There is no trace anywhere of Christianity being preached merely as a code of ethics . . . One can test the matter by leaving out of Peter's speech in Acts ii all references to the Resurrection. The speech is at once meaningless, one has taken away the core of the matter, and Peter is left proclaiming nothing at all." And again: "The apostles had no reason to delay the preaching of Christ. It is clear from our subsequent analysis of the appearances that the apostles were turned from cowards who 'all left Him and fled' and from men who would have liked to and actually for a time did go back to their ordinary avocations, into preachers of a new religion by Jesus appearing to them and telling them to go out and convert the world. There is no reason to doubt that these appearances genuinely occurred shortly after Easter morning—such phenomena do occur immediately or not at all."

Mr. Brundrit lays great stress on the fact that the "risen Lord" was preached directly after the Resurrection. Our only witness is St. Luke, and therefore much, or rather everything, depends on whether we can accept his account of St. Peter's early preaching as historically trustworthy or no. "This is the link that really needs testing. It seems to me a sound link for the reasons which I have given, but I realise how much strain I have laid on it sustaining the whole chain." We may notice that the late Dr. Chase, approaching the subject as critic and theologian, comes to the same conclusion as the author of this book. After subjecting St. Luke's account to the most rigorous analysis and examination, he said: "The more carefully we study the Petrine speeches of the Acts, their language and their thought, the deeper becomes our conviction that there is a real harmony between them and the alleged occasions of their utterance; and that both from a literary and

from a theological standpoint they cannot be the invention of the Gentile author of the book."

The various accounts of the Resurrection appearances are examined by the author with the same scrupulous care and attention to detail as the rest of the evidence. He frankly acknowledges, as we all must, that there are obvious contradictions and discrepancies in the narratives. A ruthless attempt to harmonise the various accounts, or explain away their differences, will end in disaster. But perhaps these very differences are a sign of truth; a tremendous event must make a different impression on different minds, just because of its transcendent importance, and may be at times misunderstood; but at all events the evidence, with all its inconsistencies, witnesses to one fact and one alone—that Christ is risen. If all the evidence were in perfect agreement as to detail; if there were no mistakes, no contradictions, it might seem too good to be true. We know of no such complete evidence in other matters. Like the too perfect alibi of detective fiction it might inspire us with a suspicion of fraud.

After examining the various witnesses with the greatest care, Mr. Brundrit concludes: "The upshot of the matter is that there were appearances to every disciple of whom we know. The accounts vary as to time and locality, and record the details so differently that it is often hardly possible to say whether they are giving a different account of the same appearance, or an account of a different appearance. Nevertheless, appearances there were in which (1) proofs were given that Jesus had risen from the dead and (2) messages were given as to future action. We cannot, in my view, go further. But are we not justified in saying that such appearances, combined with a tomb empty by no explicable natural means, prove the Christian case?"

The Resurrection is the keystone of our religion. To deny or to belittle it by niggling explanations is to endanger the whole fabric of our faith, and to bring it in ruin to the grounds. Remove this doctrine and our religion becomes a mere code of ethics backed by no irresistible authority.

Therefore every attempt to face this fact honestly, without bias or prejudice, is to be warmly welcomed. We may

not always agree with every detail of Mr. Brundrit's arguments, but we are grateful to him for his sincere and able examination of all the evidence available. This is a valuable book and one to be unhesitatingly recommended.

S. ADDLESHAW.

Studies in Chronology and History. By REGINALD L. POOLE. Collected and Edited by AUSTIN LANE POOLE. (Clarendon Press. 1934). 18s.

EVERY research student realises the value of a collection like this, not merely that expert work may be at hand on his own shelves, but as a means of effecting an enormous economy of time, by obviating the necessity for dusty search through back numbers of periodical publications. As for the contents of this book no historical lecturer or writer can afford to pass it by when dealing with the subjects treated by Dr. Reginald Poole. For example, I found the three papers on "Papal Chronology in the Eleventh Century," "The Names and Numbers of Medieval Popes" and especially "Benedict IX and Gregory VI" of the greatest assistance when writing my *Hildebrand*.

The first paper on "The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages" no historical student can afford to neglect; and every reader of Bede will turn to the third paper on "The Chronology of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Councils of 679-680." Of equal importance for the life of Wilfrid is the study on the trustworthiness of Eddi. Two interesting papers on seals and charters shew how very much up to date Dr. Poole's researches have been, for the checking of documentary evidence by that of seals is perhaps the most refined of all methods of historical investigation. Another interesting *excursus* in the field of diplomatics is provided by the paper on "Imperial Influence on the Forms of Papal Documents."

Three papers deal with problems in the life of John of Salisbury, supplemented by a fourth on the early lives of Robert Pullen, Nicholas Breakspear, and others contemporary with John of Salisbury. Two more discuss the dates of Henry II's Charters, and the publication of Great Charters

from Henry I onwards. Dr. Poole clears the name of Roger, Archbishop of York, from scandal, and the book closes with an interesting solution of the problem why Oxford bachelors, down to 1827, swore never to lecture nor to attend lectures at Stamford.

Although published in different journals during a long life devoted to minute and accurate research, there is a unity in this collection which gives it the similitude of a single theme, more especially as the papers run in a chronological sequence from Bede to John of Salisbury.

A. J. MACDONALD.

Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages. By WILLIAM E. LUNT. (Columbia University Press; Oxford University Press; and Mr. Humphrey Milford). 2 Vols. £3 3s.; \$12.50.

PROFESSOR LUNT'S contributions on medieval papal finance have been valuable features in historical journals during the last twenty-five years. He has now produced the fruits of half a lifetime of research in the form of two large volumes, which include a lengthy introduction on papal finance in the middle ages, divided into sections on fiscal administration and revenue respectively; over seven hundred pages of documents, translated into English; a bibliography of twenty-four pages; and ninety-eight pages of index. In the preface he refers to the opening of the Vatican archives in 1881, but the paucity of publications in English on papal finance has left the field almost clear for the appearance of his own work, although a few, but only a few of his documents have already been printed in other collections which he mentions.

By the tenth century the financial organisation of the papacy was called *the palatium*, and the *judices sacri palatii* were officers who adjudicated in revenue disputes. So early as 1017 this administration was being designated the *Camera*. The work of reforming papal finance began in the third quarter of that century, some twenty years before Hildebrand introduced his reforming zeal into it in the sixth decade, and then he did not, according to Professor Lunt, specifically direct the reform of the papal finance department. Students have been misled by the title *œconomus* applied to him, a designation

which referred to his office of administrator at the abbey of St. Paul at Rome.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the chief official of the financial administration of the church at Rome was the *Camerarius*, and he maintained his prestige until the close of the middle ages. His activity and influence grew with the expanding financial needs of the papacy, and with the extension of its financial administration throughout Europe, especially at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when new taxes had to be devised to maintain the struggle against the Hohenstaufen and the Saracens. This extension was further developed in the fourteenth century when the Schism began; the incidence of *Servitia* and Annates was then widened and Boniface VIII increased the sale of indulgences, and probably began the sale of offices. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Conciliar movement checked the development of papal taxation, and the income from Services and Annates was reduced by concordats. However the deficiency was made good by increased revenue from older sources of income, particularly from the estates of the church.

The *Camera* was chiefly concerned with the collection of the papal revenue, but, like the Exchequer in England, it was also a court of jurisdiction for all cases relating to finance. The disbursement of papal funds was in the hands of the Treasurer, who was, however, subject to the *Camerarius*. From the twelfth century onwards the College of Cardinals possessed its own *Camera*, but the precise nature of its organisation is not clear. Moreover the relation of yet a third financial organ, the papal privy purse, to the papal *Camera*, is also obscure.

Until the eighth century the chief revenue of the papacy came from the estates of the church, and was collected in each patrimony by an official called the *Rector*. With the feudalisation of the church in the ninth century, it became customary to arrange long leases, from which, by the middle of the eleventh century, the papacy received very small rents. Improvement took place under Innocent III, when the Rectors became provincial governors, and farmed out the collection of the rents. A further improvement in this source of income occurred after the Schism.

Outside the estates of the church many expedients for

raising money were devised, sometimes in imitation of the methods adopted by lay magnates. The earliest of these contributions was the *Census*, a payment made first by monastic houses, in return for papal protection. In the British Isles never more than twenty-three houses availed themselves of this privilege, although the number was larger in other western lands. In a very good section Professor Lunt describes the origin and nature of Peter's Pence, first collected in England in the ninth century, and then from Scandinavia, Poland and some other areas. But the revenue from this source was never large. *Tribute*, a financial expedient of lay lords, was first imposed by the papacy in Poland at the end of the tenth century. The payment of the English tribute, promised by King John, fell away rapidly after Henry III.

The demand for *Subsidies*, originally regarded as a voluntary offering, was first made in 1093; for *Servitia* or taxes on clerical income, in the first half of the thirteenth century, although Innocent III ordered the first payment in 1199. They increased in frequency during the Avignonese captivity. In the fourteenth century considerable additional income was received from the development of papal *Reservations*, Visitation taxes, Annates—another tax copied from lay fiscal arrangements—and from the fruits derived from vacancies. In the fifteenth century came the *Quindennia*, a variety of *Servitia* or Annates; the *Spoils* of those who died intestate—a tax never established in England, and finally stopped by the council of Constance (1417); *Procurations*, or charges for the maintenance of ecclesiastical officials when travelling.

One of the chief sources of papal revenue in the later middle ages was the Indulgence, commenced by Urban II in 1091 and first used for the Crusades in 1095, and later adopted for other papal requirements. In 1300 it was demanded by Boniface VIII at the first Jubilee, an occasion frequently imitated by his successors. Other sources of papal income were legacies for the Crusades, Chancery fees, Compositions, Oblations, gifts and open legacies, profits from jurisdiction and the sale of offices—all described in Professor Lunt's introduction.

The collection of these various details of papal revenue necessitated the development of a large fiscal administration. Collectors for the *Census* were first appointed in the later half of the eleventh century, at first local prelates, and then members of the papal court with power over specified areas. The imposition of the taxes on clerical incomes—tenths, twentieths and so on—in the thirteenth century led to a great development of the collector system, which was supplemented from time to time by the dispatch of special collectors for specific taxes, but it is interesting to observe that the permanent collectorate was not established outside the British Isles until the first half of the fourteenth century. Professor Lunt does not regard the silence of the documents on this point as decisive.

The methods adopted by the collectors are described in detail and also the measures adopted to check their work. Although some cases of abuse of authority, and dishonesty in the returns are reported, the general impression given is one of faithfulness and honesty. Of course for various reasons, only a portion of the tax collected ever reached the papal *Camera*. In course of time the taxes were remitted to Rome, for greater security in transit, by the papal bankers, first the Templars—and their house in London receives frequent mention in the documents—and then by the Italian merchants, whose prosperity and influence in Europe grew up with the papal business, and through papal protection.

The documents printed by Professor Lunt, besides being of the greatest value for experts and students in the field of medieval finance, are of value for the social and economic aspects of the period. They contain moreover many interesting human recitals. Every Londoner will be interested to read that so early as 1301 the clerical tenth was being paid at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Gregory the Great's meticulous care for poor tenants, and for the bereaved, his refusal to allow the sub-deacons of Sicily to be separated from their wives; the rule that in the *Camera* only one official might address the board at a time—a rule introduced also, we may add, by Lanfranc at the Council of London in 1075; the difficulty of getting taxes paid in England, with the very native protests of Matthew Paris, all make quite attractive reading. The documents are especially full on matters relating to England, particularly on Peter's Pence and the Tribute, and some very

interesting details appear concerning the incidence of the clerical tenth, the fees paid to the officials of the *Camera* at Rome, and in the classification of the different types of coinage current in Europe.

The term *dominus* is consistently translated by the title "lord." This is quite satisfactory in the case of bishops, abbots, and other prelates, but it does not appear to be the correct equivalent for the minor clergy. In several documents there appears to be an error—not, of course, Professor Lunt's—in either the annual date or in the indiction, notably on pages 26, 129, 217, 235 and 276 of Volume II. If we follow Dr. Reginald Lane Poole this will not be in the indiction unless, we may add, the datary omitted to adjust the calculation when the date fell after September 1st. Some readers will notice with interest that the term *universitas* was not confined in the middle ages to a learned body, but was frequently used of an office of administration, or even of the clergy of a whole country. Was it ever so used of a body corporate, which was not a *Studium Generale*?

A. J. MACDONALD.

Mediæval Theories of the Papacy and other Essays. By FATHER ROBERT HULL, S.J. Collected and arranged by EDMUND F. SUTCLIFFE, S.J. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne). Pp. 256.

IN the premature death of the late Father Hull the Society of Jesus lost one of its most prominent English scholars. These essays, collected from various ecclesiastical reviews, deal mostly with the relations between the Papacy and secular governments. Their publication will benefit the student of canon law; for they contain precise and accurate definitions of certain terms, used by writers on the Temporal Power of the Papacy; other essays discuss the views of Ockham, Marsilius of Padua, and Jacobus of Viterbio, a long forgotten author of the early fourteenth century, whom Fr. Hull resurrected from obscurity. We see how Ockham can be described as the first Gallican and Marsilius as the *fons et origo* of Erastianism. It seems superfluous to have included two papers on Marsilius, one from the

Irish Ecclesiastical Record and the other from the *Church Quarterly*, since they both cover the same ground; the one written for the *Church Quarterly* is the better of the two. Essays X, XI and XII are also to be commended for the very interesting account they give of the proceedings of the Council of Trent, which led up to the passing of the decree on Tradition. Father Hull is able to correct the view commonly held that Tradition only refers to oral Tradition; he shows quite conclusively that by the phrase *et sine scripto traditionibus* is meant all Tradition, which is not contained in scripture, since it is the Latin equivalent of the Italian *traditioni non scritte*, a technical phrase used by the members of the Council in their deliberations for anything that is not contained in scripture. The decree does not discuss the question whether Tradition is written or not; it merely says that scripture is not the only source of revealed truth.

To return to the main subject of these essays, the Temporal Power of the Papacy, Father Hull distinguishes three types of jurisdiction exercised by the Pope, a jurisdiction in things spiritual over all the faithful, a temporal sovereignty within the limits of the Vatican City, and what Father Hull describes as a Power in Temporals, and what most writers mean when they speak in loose terms of the Temporal Power. This Power in Temporals is not the absolute theory of sovereignty over all secular kingdoms, claimed by some famous papalists; rather it is an indirect jurisdiction in things which are not purely temporal, since they are connected with the spiritual sphere, in which the church is supreme. It is however jurisdiction in the technical canonical sense, and not just a consultative or advisory power. As a case of this indirect jurisdiction Father Hull instances the matter of education. "The church," he says, "will not leave education entirely in the hands of the State, because, while it is a matter which comes under the proper end and purpose of the State, it also comes under the end and purpose of the church. She, therefore, claims in it the right of indirect jurisdiction. In spiritual matters her jurisdiction is direct; in temporal matters which are connected with the spiritual sphere, her jurisdiction is indirect."

This theory of a *Potestas Indirecta* of the Papacy in

temporal matters owed its final form to Suarez and St. Robert Bellarmine, though Father Hull considers that it appears in no uncertain terms in the *De Regimine Christiano* of the above-mentioned Jacobus de Viterbio, circa 1301-1302. This author's aim was the defence of the rights of the Pope over temporal rulers, but he does not make the latter completely dependent on the Papacy. He allows that temporal powers have a natural origin, arising from the necessities of man's own nature; but such a power is inchoate and imperfect, since it only deals with man as man, compared with the spiritual power, which deals with man "as elevated above the temporal plane and made a participant in the divine life." Temporal power therefore only receives its perfection from the spiritual, by what Jacobus de Viterbio calls Institution. But he never says exactly what this effects; he appears to mean that the Pope chooses who is to wield the temporal power, though it does not originate with him. The bearing of this treatise on the *Potestas Indirecta* is in its emphasis on the fact that the spiritual power is superior to the temporal, because it deals with the supernatural end of man. It is this distinction, which forms the basis of the theory of the *Potestas Indirecta*, as developed by Suarez and Bellarmine, that it should be exercised where a supernatural end is involved. The following remark of Suarez from the *De Legibus* (III, 6, 4) seems the clearest definition of the *Potestas Indirecta*: "Deinde ipsimet Pontifices nunquam uti sunt in Ecclesia hac directa potestate in temporalibus, sed quotiescumque circa temporalia uti sunt jurisdictione, solum id fecerunt indirecte, et in ordine ad spiritualia."

Father Hull finds a recrudescence in M. Maritain's: "Things that are not Caesar's," of the Gallican view, which only allowed the Pope a *Potestas Directiva* in the temporal sphere, a power merely of counsel and admonition. Suarez has caused considerable confusion in this matter by using the adjective *Directiva* in the sense of an obligatory binding authority, where the majority of Canonists use *Coactiva*.

The most interesting of these papers, entitled "Church and State," is on the relation of the Bull *Unam Sanctam* to the *Potestas Indirecta*, since it is usually classed as an infallible utterance. Bellarmine thought it taught no more than the *Potestas Indirecta* over secular sovereigns, some modern writers

have seen in it only a definition of the Pope's spiritual supremacy. Father Hull shows that the main body of the Bull teaches rather a *Potestas Directa*, that the temporal power is subordinate to the spiritual, that it must be used for the Pope, or at least under his direction, and that it can be judged by him. But Roman theologians say that not everything in an infallible decree is intended as an infallible pronouncement. The Pope only speaks as infallible, when he prefaces his words by some such phrase as *Definimus Auctoritate Apostolica*. In this case the formal definition in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* is that every human being must be subject to the Roman Pontiff. Having discovered what constitutes the formal definition of the Pope's power in temporals, Father Hull has to own that he is unable to arrive at any exact determination as to what Boniface meant, except that his definition is considerably more moderate in tone than the rest of the Bull where Boniface is speaking as a *Doctor Privatus*, though it is not the *Potestas Indirecta* of Bellarmine and Suarez. It would be ungracious to make the obvious comment on the subject of Papal Infallibility, which is called for by Father Hull's conclusion. One would like to add however that as the work of an expert this book deserves a place on the shelves of all those, who claim to pursue the study of Canon Law.

G. W. O. ADDLESHAW.

Early Tudor Government. By KENNETH PICKTHORN. 2 Vols. (Cambridge University Press. 1934). 35s.

THIS is an important work, written by one who knows his authorities at first hand, and approaches them with an open mind and also with a critical eye. The reign of Henry VIII has too often been the chosen battle-ground of religious partisans. The king has been represented as a demigod or a demon; the monks have been pictured as recluses living ordered lives of devotion or as monsters of moral depravity; Cranmer is for some a hero and a saint, but for others a despicable time-server with a genius for intrigue. Some consider that the reign of Henry VIII was the destruction of Merrie England, and some believe that it was the dawn of progress and enlightenment. Mr. Pickthorn cares for none of these things. Instead

of discussing the good and evil of this period, he is rather inclined to say to the disputants—"Have it your own way." He is only interested in ascertaining how England was governed at the time, and by sifting the evidence to understand what actually occurred.

The work has been published in two handsome volumes—the first on Henry VII contains 192 pages, the second on Henry VIII, 564. The first volume is really only a rather extensive portico through which we approach the second. In it the author sums up the conditions of the time, dealing with Finance, the Council, the Judicature, Parliament, the Royal Prerogatives and the status of Villeins and Clerics. The reader who masters this volume ought to know enough to value the changes that were made in the reign of Henry VIII. In his second volume, Mr. Pickthorn changes his method and makes the hazardous experiment of teaching constitutional history by means of a consecutive narrative. It was a difficult thing to do, Mr. Pickthorn has done it; and in doing it justified his attempt.

Reading history with his aid we understand that the English Constitution did not develop in accordance with any premeditated plan, but is the result of haphazard expedients for dealing with new situations. None, and least of all the king, foresaw the far-reaching results of precedents they were creating. Our Constitution is not a machine made to order, and is not best understood by the theories of publicists who attempt to explain it; but is a body politic which has grown with a nation's life and been constantly modified to meet new requirements. If this were better understood people would be less zealous to impose our institutions on nations with a very different past.

We have ceased to read the preambles of Tudor Statutes and Royal Proclamations in the expectation of learning the truth; but they remain masterly expositions of what the government wanted to be believed. The Tudor draftsmen were adepts in political propaganda. It will be said that Mr. Pickthorn has made his book unduly long by the length of his quotations. We think this criticism true, but still we sympathise. Who could refrain from such magnificent Tudor English?

Once or twice we thought that Mr. Pickthorn depended too much on the authority of Chapuis. He was doubtless well informed and wished to give his master correct information; but he was the natural centre for all malcontents and often saw things through their eyes, and sometimes mistook the rash utterances of irritated men for deliberate intentions.

Mr. Pickthorn, as we have said, holds himself apart from the religious and moral judgments which have been passed in the reign. Only here and there on one side or the other he corrects false statements as to facts. At times he overdoes this attitude of detachment. For instance, no one could have pointed out more clearly how inconsistent and illogical was Sir Thomas More's position at the last; but he fails to sympathise with a man, not cast by nature in a heroic mould, who none the less overcame temptations, sacrificed his inclinations, was not deflected from his purpose by his affections, but with serenity and dignity laid down his life and saved his soul.

In style Mr. Pickthorn has no respect for the great tradition which stretches from Hume, if not from Clarendon, to Trevelyan. He is a lecturer and college tutor, and the atmosphere of the Lecture Room is apparent in his work. We can imagine him arriving with his notebook and several volumes with slips inserted in them; dictating his notes, reading his extracts, and occasionally interpolating colloquial phrases to make his class sit up and smile. Having said this we would add that some of these colloquial judgments are exceedingly illuminating. They bring us into intimate touch with a virile personality and an acute mind.

We are sure that Mr. Pickthorn must be a very stimulating teacher, especially for the first-class man. The first-class man will value this book. It will not only give him all he needs to know, but it will provoke thought also. The book, on the other hand, will be of no use to the man who only hopes to scrape through his examination. Such a man expects a textbook to provide him with the answers to all the questions that can be asked in the Schools. He wants to be told what to write, and objects very strongly if he is asked to think. Well, the book is 35s. and he will probably not buy it. There are others who have long been emancipated from the discipline of examinations. One of them at least has read this book with admira-

tion, even though he sometimes disagreed with the author; and to all interested in the subject, apart from examinations, he can recommend it as a liberal education in how to conduct historical research.

H. MAYNARD SMITH.

Mystics of the North East. Edited with Introduction and Notes by G. D. HENDERSON, B.D., D.LITT., Regius Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen. Printed for the Third Spalding Club, 1934. (Out of commerce.)

THE phase of writing about mysticism is passing into the more fruitful stage of the publication of texts; some well-known by reputation and even by some measure of accessibility, others stealing forth from "buried recesses" at hand, or from far-away corners of time and space. This book belongs to the second of these categories. To most it will be revealing; to many, interesting for the connexion of these mystics with Mesdames Bourignon and Guyon.

The leaders of this eighteenth century company, "good Scots and good Episcopalians," were Lord Deskford, son of the Scots Chancellor prominent in the Act of Union with England, in 1707, and Dr. James Keith, an M.D. of Aberdeen. His letters to Lord Deskford number 46 (some with interesting enclosures, e.g., from Madame Guyon) out of the 63 printed in Part I. Of him Dr. Henderson says:

No one seems to have been more zealously and successfully occupied in propagating the cause of mystical religion than James Keith, M.D. (p. 56).

Others were Alexander, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, exile after the "Forty-five," who, if he wrote little that has remained, left many mystical authors he had collected (which included *Les Cantiques* of Père Surin); William 14th Lord Forbes, and James, 16th Lord Forbes; the Chevalier Ramsay, a baker's son destined for the Presbyterian ministry; but, deflected by French mysticism, he went to France, and was eventually won over to the Roman faith by Monseigneur de Cambrai. Then there was Dr. George Garden, who imbibed mysticism from a student of Madame Bourignon and Tauler, the French

protestant Pierre Poiret, of whom Dr. Henderson rather naïvely observes:

In later life, he was said to read part of the *Imitation of Christ* every day (p. 17); not a very distinctive habit after all. Anyhow, Poiret influenced profoundly George Garden, of whom Dr. Henderson says:

The name . . . does not bulk largely in the Letters of James Keith, but . . . his was the personality which inspired the mystical movement in the North-East.

This brief outline must suffice here to enable students to decide whether or no this company of like-minded, rather unusual men have interest for them.

The letters, the kernel of the book, are prefaced with full biographical and historical accounts of the main actors. Dr. Henderson sympathises more easily with his countrymen than with Madame Guyon—"a strange and abnormal woman." He comments wisely on her dangerous eccentricities, though admitting that she was "a person of charm, with a gift of sympathy and a great deal of common-sense," despatching her finally with unconcealed relief as having been in late life (the period of these letters) "perfectly discreet and unsensational." (Some of the said letters have not been previously published.) The only possible criticism seems to be to indicate the hopelessness of trying to convey so enigmatic a personality in less than a single page, specially a personality which was the storm-centre of a fundamental religious struggle.

The lives and doings of all these people, so well and tersely described in the Introduction, have interest not only for mystics but for students of history, and not least for the small band of curious seekers in all out-of-the-way corners of letters, thought and life. Students will not find much of technical mystical phraseology, but, looking closely, they will detect the mystic way—renunciation of material things, of the "self," and something of "union." In Cunningham's letters, at the book's end, they will come into a more familiar kind of mystical speech and substance. The real thing is in Dr. Keith's letters, however. Repeatedly such phrases recur as, "walk in his Presence" (p. 83); "walking continually in his Holy Presence" (p. 76). Once, he expands:

O could we walk continually before him as little children, we should always rejoice in his Holy Presence, and take everything that happens from moment to moment freely from his hand (p. 116).

St. Teresa and Fray Juan would recognise something of union there. On p. 116, it comes a step nearer: "May his holy Presence be our continual entertainment and delight." A passage however in a letter of Dr. Garden to James Cunningham, p. 211, appears to have no grasp on union, even of "the length of an Ave Maria."

In *Sancta Sophia*, Father Augustine Baker described "introversion" as "a state . . . that every one entering into religion is to aspire unto, which consists in an habitual disposition of soul, whereby she transcends all creatures and their images, which thereby come to have little or no dominion over her, so that she becomes apt for immediate co-operation with God, receiving his inspiration." Again, Dr. Keith counselled Lord Deskford:

Turn inward, and enter meekly into the heart of L.M. (p. 83);

which is introversion: Keith uses that word once. (L.M. stands for Little Master, their name for our Lord).

If few of them read Fr. Baker, they are, here, of his school. It is in the short Part II of the book, the letters of Dr. George Garden and James Cunningham, that Baker enters by name,—Garden, who was "the personality which inspired the mystical movement in the North-East."

It was however Cunningham who assiduously studied *Sancta Sophia*. Cunningham's three letters with Garden's two replies are here printed for the first time, from copies: "of the original letters there is no trace" (p. 197).

No student should miss this strange story of the influence of the 'Camisards' (the French Prophets) on these dissimilar friends. It was on his journey from Bath, after severe illness, that Cunningham who was to meet them in Edinburgh, soaked himself in Father Baker. What that great director of souls would have thought of the doings of Guy Nutt and Lady Abden when "drunk with prophecy," it is easy to settle. Cunningham's attitude to them alarmed Garden and his friends;

none could deny Cunningham's good faith and good education, all of which made him the more dangerous, if he were led astray. He was genuinely mystical, as this account of his internal prayer shews:

I found my mind disengaged from the creatures and ready to forsake all and to embrace any sufferings, I see more distinctly the necessity of self, all self-love and self-will being destroyed, and of practising those things I knew before but in story. (pp. 203, 204).

That savours more of S. Teresa than of quietism, or "drunken prophecy." Garden, still more learned, far less emotional, utters guarded praise with sober warning:

There have been many who have been led into the prayer of silence, that were never agitated and inspired after the manner of the prophets; as on the other hand many of the agitated and inspired prophets did never exercise the prayer of silence. (p. 210).

The whole book, even for those who will not agree with all of Dr. Henderson's critical dicta, is a valuable addition to mystical texts and of substantial importance to the study of mystical theology and genuine "experience."

GERALDINE HODGSON.

Christian Theology. By A. C. HEADLAM, C.H., D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. (Oxford. X+482 pp.).

DR. HEADLAM has lost no time in fulfilling the promise given in the preface of his book *What it Means to be a Christian*; for though the present volume deals only with the sources of religious knowledge and the doctrine of God and is to be completed in a second, yet it is independent and self-contained, and fully satisfies the expectations which the promise aroused. It is a great piece of work and will live as the classical expression of the Anglican theology in which the labours of the nineteenth century culminated. Dr. Headlam is uniquely qualified to give such a gift to the church. He is the heir of a great tradition. The authors of *Lux Mundi* had striven to bring together the twin streams that took their origin in Newman

and in Maurice, to reconcile catholic orthodoxy with the new knowledge supplied by the physical sciences, by biblical criticism and by the awakening of the social conscience. Moberly, Gore and Scott Holland, Bright and Sanday had made Oxford the home of theological studies, and carried on into fuller achievement the desired synthesis. But their work was to some extent experimental and the case of three of them manifestly incomplete. They were living in a time of transition and deeply concerned with its practical affairs. Dr. Headlam not only stands beside them as a colleague. He has had the opportunity to test out their conclusions in many years of work for religious education and for Christian reunion. He has verified, sifted, expanded and set in order a complete system of dogmatic theology.

To this task, in addition to the fruits of many years of study and teaching, he brings a singularly clear and orderly mind, a detached and critical judgement, and a concise and lucid style. No recent theologian is so capable of setting out in due proportion a great scheme of thought, or of expressing in unequivocal language subjects whose character invites and excuses the vagueness that so easily masquerades as profundity or devotion. His sentences are never laboured; yet they are hammered out as conscientiously as the clauses of a test creed. His outlook is never superficial; yet its simplicity of expression leaves no room for ambiguity. If anyone wishes to know the doctrine of the Anglican communion as this took shape at the beginning of the present century, Dr. Headlam's book is the obvious source to which he will turn.

Thus described it may appear that the book is valuable rather as a record of the position reached twenty years ago than as appropriate to the particular issues of to-day. Dr. Headlam in his preface notices this possibility; and indeed it is evident to a careful reader not only that the bulk of the material is uninfluenced by recent debates, but that the effect of modern work has hardly been taken into account. There is indeed a brief and rather contemptuous chapter (ch. viii) on "Belief in God and Modern Thought" in which the writings of some of those who have discussed the bearings of the new physics

and of biology and psychology upon theism are described: but there is no evidence that the acceptance of an evolutionary philosophy has in any way affected Dr. Headlam's doctrine of the Trinity or of the Incarnation. *Foundations*, which for most of us is almost ancient history, represents Modernism, and the reader will look in vain for the name of Oman, or of Bethune-Baker, or of Thornton, and for any reference to the problems with which they have been dealing. So too in psychology. William James is the latest author to be quoted: the chapter on natural religion ignores the storm that has arisen over the New Psychology and has nothing to say of Freud or Leuba, or even of Otto and Pratt. Even in New Testament study, though there is a sympathetic footnote upon Streeter's *Four Gospels* and a judicious section upon Apocalyptic, there is no mention of the Form-criticism and only a bare reference to recent work on the Acts or the Fourth Gospel.

To a generation acutely conscious of its modernity and vitally concerned with the struggle between immanentism and the theology of crisis, with the problem of the nature and validity of religious experience, and with the criticism of the Markan scheme of the ministry, such omissions may well give the book an old-fashioned air. Certainly those who have been trying during the past twenty years to estimate the value of new knowledge and to continue the perennial task of reinterpretation will not feel satisfied—may indeed confess that Dr. Headlam in his treatment of the major issues leaves off at the point from which they have had to begin afresh. It is difficult for them not to feel that, though in one or two places, and notably in the chapter on the Holy Spirit, there are signs of a different outlook, the Christology of Dr. Headlam's book fails to do justice to the manhood of Jesus, the Trinitarian doctrine with its stress upon the social element in the Godhead is dangerously tritheistic, and that in both cases the cause of their dissatisfaction with him arises out of his attitude towards the Universe. Here, more clearly than elsewhere, is the dividing line between old and new. The Oxford school thought always of the Universe as the theatre in which God worked out the purpose of man's redemption or, in Dr. Headlam's favourite phrase, as a great machine. The younger generation, trained in evolutionary ideas and in the new physics, cannot think of

God as thus acting *ab extra* and must try to express and work out its sense of a more intimate and organic connection between Creator and creation. Whether Dr. Headlam's theology is too deistic or theirs too pantheistic, only the future can decide.

For it is plain that, if justification be needed for these limitations in Dr. Headlam's work, the present acute perplexity in all the departments of thought ancillary to theology will explain it. Philosophy, psychology, ethics, historical and biblical criticism have all become in the past twenty years complex and confused. New and far-reaching hypotheses have been put forward and have still to be tested and evaluated. The situation is not unlike that in the middle of the last century when men were confronted with discoveries whose bearing upon religion could not be foreseen, and when systematic doctrine must wait during a period of empiricism and conjecture. At such a time nothing is better calculated to clear the air than a full and consistent presentation of doctrine as it could be formulated before the present bewilderments arose. It may well be, as Dr. Headlam seems to expect, that the storms will blow themselves out, that many of the hypotheses with which we are so acutely concerned will prove ill-founded or irrelevant, that theology will not in fact be seriously affected by them. In any case for the men whose lives will be spent in a time of transition, it is of the highest value to be able to refer to a classical exposition of Christian belief. It will show them the strength and coherence of the tradition and warn them against impetuous revolt against it. It will survey for them the ground recently occupied and help them to estimate the consequences of their proposed modifications. It will give them an example of the scope and character of theology, and a full account of the elements of which it consists.

Dr. Headlam has done for the church what we have for long been hoping that the Archbishops' Doctrinal Commission would do—given us a normative account of Christian theology as this is understood by a great student in a great period. Theology is never a closed subject. We have deliberately drawn attention to the points in which he will fail to satisfy the pioneers. But its future progress will only be possible if it is guided by constant reference to the monumental achievements of the past. It is good that as we face another period

of uncertainty and conflict we should have presented to us so noble a record of our heritage, so clear an exposition of our faith.¹

CHARLES E. RAVEN.

Introduction to Green's Moral Philosophy. By W. D. LAMONT, M.A., D.Phil. (Allen and Unwin). 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is an unusually competent and lucid Commentary on an ethical system which has presented severe difficulty to many academic generations of students, and is of special value in divinity courses so far as moral philosophy is concerned; it has, in fact, been written primarily "for the use of undergraduates," although it should appeal to a much wider circle of readers attracted by its vitally important subject-matter; is not one of the most imperious needs of the day precisely a clear grasp of principles that should rule all conduct, alike individually and socially?

This consideration makes it all the more unfortunate that the outstanding value of T. H. Green's *Ethics* is rivalled by its obscurity. To some extent this is inherent and ineradicable, arising as it does from the involved style and somewhat cumbrous arrangement of the *Prolegomena*; although these defects would probably have been alleviated but for Green's lamentably early death. In other respects the lack of clarity was due to the conditions under which his thought was first presented to the philosophical world of his day. For Green was one of the earliest British writers to be deeply and permanently influenced by modern Objective Idealism, as distinct from its more subjectivist predecessors, although it may be one of the most subtle tasks attending the study of Green to determine to what degree he has escaped from the taint of subjectivism himself; and this, in its turn, affects our estimate of his final conclusions. In any event, scarcely any contrast

¹ I notice two misprints, *Anchoratus* p. 98 (but *Ancoratus* p. 416); *Epistle for Epistles*, p. 290.

could possess deeper significance in its bearing upon basic moral principles. As for Green's personal eminence in philosophy, Dr. Lamont defends the earlier status accorded to him, as against some recent attempts at disparagement; and it may be guessed at what quarter his own comment is directed that, with all his faults, at least Green "never attempted to make dubious wit serve for wisdom"; a somewhat too prominent tendency at the moment, in my own opinion.

These aspects of an intricate situation go very far towards explaining the obstacles that inevitably lie in the student's path, since they are really due to the profound conflict between the new Idealism and the ingrained Empiricism of British moralists, with its incessant stress on Utility, on success in Practice—"Pragmatism" not then having been coined—and the greatest happiness principle as the solution of all ethical dilemmas. And these contentions, undeniably, must never be lost sight of. But Green's Idealistic standpoint raised anew those still deeper issues which British thought, despite the unquestionable value of its emphasis on the essentially practical aspects of life and conduct, had tended to allow to fall into the background. On what ultimate foundations do all moral principles, without exception, themselves repose? Or are they self-sufficient and therefore self-sustaining, so that Pure Ethics is all that is requisite, if indeed not all that is ever attainable? The paradox that awaits any such enquiries as these is patent. For whatever reply is offered immediately involves the plunge into Metaphysics. If all ethical doctrines imply some still more fundamental truths, then these must sooner or later become metaphysical; on the other hand, to advocate a Pure Morality, somewhat akin to a Pure Mathematics in holding itself wholly aloof from an overruling Philosophy, itself demands keen metaphysical analysis and arguments, as even pure mathematicians have themselves recently discovered. As Aristotle contended, we are committed to Metaphysics in either case; and to revert to Green, it is precisely the metaphysical background, from which his specifically ethical viewpoint emerges, that intensifies the task of apprehending the essence of his position as distinct from his detailed conclusions.

Dr. Lamont himself maintains "that moral theory can never be severed ultimately from one's conception of the metaphysical status and destiny of humanity"; and in times when Astronomy has reduced the individual to the rank of the last full stop in a volume of five hundred pages, perhaps it is as well to insist that philosophy still remains a "vocation the proper following of which constitutes a contribution to the common good." Throughout, the author has handled his themes with marked success; doubtless his own experience as Lecturer in Moral Philosophy has enabled him to appreciate the special obstacles that encumber the student, and also to select the issues of outstanding interest. His work has the further unmistakable merit that he is himself quite prepared—and equally competent—to criticise many of Green's leading contentions, as he has done in the Appendix which is devoted to "the most obvious difficulties in (Green's) system," regarded in the first place as Metaphysics, and secondly as concerned with the real character of "the good will." To this are added somewhat brief Notes on Reality and Relations—perhaps the most obscure of all subjects in the *Prolegomena*—Evolution, with its implication of "the eternal existence of perfection," Motive and Intention, Self-Realisation, and "The End as Common Good." I trust that there will be little delay in the appearance of a more positive consideration of all the crucial moral issues that have here been discussed so cursorily.

Turning to the more detailed features of the book, Dr. Lamont has not hesitated to rearrange the original presentation of the *Prolegomena*, in addition to his summary of its entire contents; and his method of marginal references, together with the index to the main parallels between his own exposition and Green's treatise, should be of inestimable value to all contemporary students, as well as the occasion for the envy of their predecessors. Nor should the bibliography be allowed to pass unmentioned; although I might suggest, despite the writer's implied disclaimer, that the provision of an ordinary index in the later editions which will, I hope, follow in due time, would be a definite improvement. Taken on the whole, the work is excellently adapted for its purpose.

J. E. TURNER.

C. C. J. WEBB: *Religion and Theism*. The Forwood Lectures delivered at Liverpool University, 1933, together with a Chapter on the Psychological Accounts of the Origin of Belief in God. (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1934). Price, 4s. 6d.

THESE lectures are a very timely fruit of Dr. Webb's mature and valued learning. They set out with great cogency the case for Theism, particularly with reference to the criticisms of it made in the recent writings of Professor Julian Huxley, Mr. Walter Lippmann, and Professor Nicolai Hartmann. The authors named cannot object that they have been treated without respect. Dr. Webb has set forth their positions with impartiality and used only the weapons of rigid thinking in demolishing them. The impression which the volume leaves upon the reader is that the widespread rejection of Theism at the present time is due chiefly to slovenliness of thought and that our intelligentia have for the most part given up thinking.

Not the least impressive thing in the lectures is the importance attached to religious experience as offering a primary contribution to the Theistic argument. This is the more noteworthy in that they are the work of a theologian who has drunk deeply of the stream of medieval thought which, even in the Platonist tradition, appealed primarily to syllogistic reasoning to prove the existence of God. But by religious experience Dr. Webb understands chiefly not those states which to-day are popularly termed "mystical" and which the older German writers subsumed under the head of *Schwärmerei*. He is concerned rather with such experiences as the feeling of a "presence" in nature and the sense of respect for the categorical demands of the moral law. As the two characteristics of an experience truly religious, Dr. Webb points to "ultimacy" and "immediacy." There are thus considerable affinities between Dr. Webb's argument and that of Professor A. E. Taylor in his justly-famed essay in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, to which Dr. Webb pays incidentally a high tribute (p. 130). On the other hand, it is interesting to contrast Dr. Webb's estimate of the value of religious experience with the depreciation of it in the writings of another recent famous exponent of Theism, Hastings Rashdall. The severer Scholasticism of the latter, as exemplified e.g. in his essay on "The

Validity of Religious Experience," reprinted in *Ideas and Ideals*, led him to distrust profoundly the specifically religious approach to Theism.

Dr. Webb's examination of the concluding sections of Professor Hartmann's *Ethik* (where the philosopher touches upon the Theistic problem) are of great value. There Dr. Hartmann argues that between the requirements of ethics and those of orthodox theism exists a deep antinomy. In spite of what Dr. Hartmann there contends, however, we are doubtful if he can be rightly included among those who reject Theism. At one place, indeed (p. 69, top), Dr. Webb seems to have some hesitation on this point. Dr. Hartmann argues in his *Grundzüge einer Metaphysik der Erkenntnis* that the Universe is riddled with antinomies; and the present writer recalls a lecture in which he contended that the abiding value of the Hegelian Dialectic was that it led to the discovery of countless irreconcilable "theses" and "antitheses" which Hegel vainly thought could be harmonized in some sort of way in a higher "synthesis." Dr. Hartmann maintains that it does not follow, if two facts or sets of facts are rationally incompatible, that a choice has to be made between them; on the contrary, he believes that they can quite well coexist. With such a dualism no believer in the Christian doctrine of the Logos could, of course, for a moment be content. But it would not of itself preclude Professor Hartmann, in spite of what he writes in the *Ethik*, from being reckoned among the professing Theists.

F. L. CROSS.

Recent Developments in German Protestantism. By O. PIPER.
(Student Christian Movement Press). 4s.

The Church Controversy in Germany. By A. NYGREN.
(Student Christian Movement Press). 2s. 6d.

Judaism, Christianity, and Judaism. By CARDINAL FAULHABER.
(Burns, Oates and Washbourne). 2s. 6d.

ANYONE who wishes to understand the German ecclesiastical crisis should read these three books, and he should read them in the above order.

Dr. Piper gives us the intellectual background without

which we cannot even begin to understand the recent history of the Evangelical Church. He brings to his task the qualification of complete candour. The most drastic critic of Lutheranism would not go further than him in saying "German Protestantism has found real support only from the bourgeoisie. . . . Protestant theology in Germany dealt almost exclusively with the religious questions of intellectual people and the moral problems of the bourgeois middle class."

He shows us too the revolution which has occurred in German theological thought since the war. The intellectual outlook, which in this country precariously survives in the Modern Churchmen's Union, is summarily dealt with. "This theology was not the summit of an evolution; it was the last end of an erroneous conception of Protestant theology."

Those who have discussed the problems of reunion with Continental divines know well the sacrosanct position accorded to the great reformers in the churches moulded by their teaching. So Dr. Piper's pages on the new understanding of Luther (pp. 78-97) are of the highest value. Luther's "lectures on Romans of 1515-16 prove that he understood his own discovery as a correction of mediæval Catholicism. His intention was not to create a new religion, but to give a critical principle able to show how wrong was the development during the second half of the middle ages. He never thought that his principle, *Salvation by faith alone through God's mercy in Christ*, was in itself a sufficient basis of religious life . . . for Luther this principle presupposed the existence of the one, holy, catholic church with all its organisation and its history."

It would be foolish to anticipate a speedy end to the deep cleavage in German Christianity. But Dr. Piper's book witnesses throughout to the passionate reaction against liberalism and individualism which characterises all recent thought in the Evangelical Church. This would appear to be as true of schools of thought little known to English theologians as of the movements of Barth and Heiler. On the other hand readers of Cardinal Faulhaber's book will find a new and admirable tone towards non-Roman Christians.

The Swedish theologian, Dr. Nygren, author of that theological classic, *Agape and Eros*, is particularly well fitted to be the historian of the church crisis in Germany. As a

foreigner he possesses a detachment impossible for any German. As a Lutheran divine he has an intimate sympathy with the German Evangelicals. As a Swede he inherits a traditional friendship for Germany. He is indeed too friendly, and grossly exaggerates the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles. That the grievances of the Germans were largely imaginary is proved by the astonishing success of Nazi "mass suggestion." Before the war Germans believed in the Prussian imperialist creed of "blood and iron." A crude belief in material success did not survive military defeat. It is the tragedy of the German parliamentary republic that it failed to provide a worthy alternative creed. So the Prussian "blood and iron" was succeeded by Herr Hitler's "blood and race."

Dr. Nygren gives a careful and accurate history of the church dispute up to the end of 1933. Nothing has since occurred to contradict the main outlines of his story. It is however possible that he does less than justice to the German Christians. There is more in them than a meaningless compromise between the Confessional Church and the German Faith Movement. Lutheran pietism and Lutheran theology had both in opposite directions become increasingly remote from the needs and ideas of ordinary men and women. The German Christian watchword, *Not a pastors' church but a people's church*, is more than a mere parrot cry. It represents a genuine desire to consecrate the new popular enthusiasm by a religion with a catholic appeal. Dr. Piper truly says (*op. cit.* p. 153), "It is the tragedy of modern Protestantism that by the faults of the church and the intellectualistic form of the new theology millions of the National Socialists and German Christians were prevented from seeing the true way." This does not justify the activity of Reich Bishop Müller and his advisers. Bishop Müller was an army chaplain who married a wealthy wife and consequently acquired influential connections in Prussian military circles. He has a personal claim to the gratitude of Herr Hitler through having befriended him in the days of his adversity. But as an ecclesiastical administrator his record has been one of petulant incompetence. He has drifted aimlessly amidst a sinister entourage of Nazi officials and clerical adventurers.

The troubles of the Evangelical Church might have sug-

gested to Roman Catholics a shortsighted policy of keeping quiet and reaping the benefits of a suicidal conflict. Not so Cardinal Faulhaber. So soon as the leaders of the Confessional Church had incurred the risks of open defiance, he delivered his famous Advent sermons of 1933 in Munich. As the work of a scholar and bishop, who can explain the value of the Old Testament in a way which ordinary people can understand, these sermons possess a high value apart from the circumstances in which they were delivered. Actually they are the product of high personal courage. The Cardinal was in real danger of confinement and only escaped an attempted arrest by local Storm-troopers through his vigour and astuteness.

The lectures on the religious, ethical, and social values of the Old Testament are studiously moderate in tone. Too moderate many English readers will think him. While always friendly and courteous towards German Evangelicals, he is careful to say that his arguments in support of the Old Testament do not apply to the modern Jews. But then few Englishmen realise the baleful effects of Jewish activity on economic life and social morality in the German parliamentary republic. Ironically the Cardinal writes "in our own Bavaria, farms were sold after the war which had remained in the same family for centuries. The sons had fallen in the war, the aged parents were unable to carry on alone, and thus the whole estate fell into the hands of some stranger—who, during the war, had not been impoverished."

But if his argument is moderate in tone, it is uncompromising in substance. "The cradle of humanity is not in Greece, it is in Palestine." Nor will he tolerate a sentimental piety. "There are those childish, pious souls—whether they wear the nun's veil or not—who speak and sing in sugary tones of the little Jesus and the little angels, and mingle Gospel and fable together."

It is in the Cardinal's last lecture, "Christianity and Germany," that the indignation of the Christian and the contempt of the scholar break through. He pours scorn on the so-called history of the new German paganism—a thing easy enough in an English study but needing high courage in a man

who is attacking the popular myth of the despotism under which he lives.

If Englishmen who despair of Germany will read these three books, they will gain new hope from the thought of those countless Germans, both Catholic and Protestant, who are prepared to risk everything for their Christian faith.

There is surely a mistranslation on p. 87 of Dr. Piper's book where he says that Luther "held the idea of the *physical* presence of Christ in the Holy Communion." Nor have we been able to discover the identity of the Archbishop Parker to whom Cardinal Faulhaber, in p. 33 of the translation of his lectures, is made to attribute the authorship of an epic poem on Moses.

SHORT NOTICES.

Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III. By K. L. WOOD-LEGH. (Cambridge University Press. 1934). 10s. 6d.

It has long been recognised that Church History will have to be re-written, and the publication, year by year, of monographs based upon unexplored sources, is rapidly bringing that event nearer. While a great deal has yet to be done before all the main sources are available in print for the historian, who is not usually a palæographer, sufficient has already been printed to make possible the opening of the second stage of the work. It is to this stage that Miss Wood-Legh's book—like that of Miss Gibbs and Miss Lang on *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272*—belongs. Here we have no volume which will delight the heart of the seeker after readable books, but a thorough examination of the printed editions of the Patent Rolls, so far as they concern five aspects of Church History in the reign of Edward III, a study which will prove of the utmost value to the church historian of the future who undertakes to write, in popular form, that chapter of the Church's record.

Miss Wood-Legh's enquiry is not confined to the Patent Rolls; she has drawn also upon the Calendars of Close and Fine Rolls, the Calendars of Papal Letters and Petitions, printed Episcopal Registers and Borough Records, as well as other sources. Her first enquiry was into the royal administration of religious houses. As a rule the king only intervened in the affairs of monasteries which were of royal patronage, and where mismanagement had resulted in embarrassed financial conditions. Then a commission was appointed by royal authority, consisting of lay as well as clerical members, and remained operative until the affairs of the house were restored to prosperity. Sometimes the king intervened in order to secure the resumption of neglected works of piety. The effect of the Black Death upon the impoverishment of the religious houses was not so marked as has been suggested, nor does the evidence here produced support the conclusion that in the fourteenth century the English monasteries had begun to decay in interior life or to become ineffective externally.

The royal visitation of hospitals and free chapels did not exclude the influence of ecclesiastical authority, because the

official responsible for the visitation was the Chancellor, who was always a cleric and usually a bishop, even after 1340. Unlike episcopal visitations, which took place during every episcopate, the crown did not intervene, save when abuses or dilapidations were reported, or after the appointment of a new head, who required a kind of certificate of clearance on taking up his new office. Even so the visitation was not conducted by the Chancellor in person, unless the chapel or hospital was in or near London. On account of pluralism and non-residence, no great improvement in the conduct of these foundations was effected by these visitations.

Perhaps the most important section of the book is concerned with an examination of the effect of the Statute of Mortmain. Framed in order to check the undue growth of ecclesiastical property, Miss Wood-Legh shews that by the simple device of securing a dispensation from the provisions of the Statute, it remained to a considerable extent ineffective. Yet the necessity of obtaining the royal license, before a grant of land was made to an ecclesiastical corporation, did act as a check upon the process of alienation. The licenses decreased after the Black Death, but not suddenly. Throughout Edward III's reign no great accession of property was secured by the friars, when compared with the grants made to houses belonging to older orders.

Many of the grants in Mortmain were in favour of the foundation of new chantries, a popular form of piety in the fourteenth, as in the fifteenth century, although the records prove that widespread neglect of the provisions of the founders was current during the period. The parish priests, did not, as some writers have maintained, usurp the functions and receive the emoluments of the chantry priests to any great extent. Some interesting details concerning the remuneration of the clergy, whether parochial or chantry priests, are supplied. The effect of the plague was to discourage the foundation of new chantries.

By means of licenses issued under the Statute of Mortmain frequent appropriation of parish churches to monastic foundations took place, in order to restore the fortunes of impoverished houses. The Papal Registers do not provide an adequate estimate of the extent of these appropriations. Again the Black Death did not increase the number of appropriations.

In the concluding chapter Miss Wood-Legh discusses the evil effects of appropriation upon the life of the parishes, and states that secularisation within the religious houses was evident. For these evils the Black Death was not largely or mainly responsible. If the Statute of Mortmain did not check the transfer of property to the Church, at least it gave the State an effective influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and "made the changes which followed the

breach with Rome less startling to the ordinary man than they otherwise would have been."

In a second edition the term "chorrody" might be explained. The book contains several useful statistical tables, and a complete bibliography and index. It is one of the volumes in the "Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought" edited by Dr. Coulton.

A.J.M.

The Challenge of Humanism. By L. J. A. MERCIER. (Oxford University Press. Milford). 10s. 6d. net.

THE "challenge" discussed in this attractively written volume is that perennially addressed by Humanism to Naturalism, where the second term "implies the complete denial of man as man, as a distinct if mysterious entity possessing identity and personality, a being *sui generis* in the midst of nature," and asserts "the identification of man with either a spiritual or material All-One"; whereas Humanism regards mankind as "made up of individual, personal, autonomous beings, distinct from the rest of nature"; and Professor Mercier lucidly expounds and defends the arguments of Irving Babbitt and Elmer More in the United States, together with those of Baron Seillière in France. As he begins by observing, Humanism has had a long history during that slow transition, from its medieval forms to the markedly diverse systems all laying claim to this title to-day, which he outlines in its connection with recent French and German literature, especially "the philosophy of pantheistic and materialistic naturalism." In the same way Humanism rejects Pragmatism because this must always remain relativistic; and the author then proceeds to affiliate it with Scholasticism, both medieval and modern. This in turn carries us back to the indispensable "first principles" of Plato and Aristotle, the writer's own personal viewpoint being that of Roman Catholicism, and summarised as standing "for the assertion of man's special estate as a being distinct from the rest of nature, the only being to represent an intimate union of changing physical and abiding spiritual principles."

Taken as a whole, this book draws renewed attention to the powerful reaction against Naturalism that began towards the end of last century, maintaining "the dualism in man's nature, as opposed to the inveterate monistic tendency of naturalism." Now while we must, I believe, recognise this dualism, I think it is definitely questionable whether this also involves any genuine parallel in "the dualistic philosophy of Plato and Aristotle." Everything depends, obviously, upon where we choose to locate the fundamental dichotomy. The Aristotelian view of man as

"neither beast nor god" is undeniably sounder, and more in accord with evolutionary theory, than the modern descriptions of him as either an ape afflicted with megalomania or the tadpole of an archangel. Still further, Aristotle's transcendent Deism may be said to constitute a Dualism, while Plato left unresolved the dualism between Good and Evil in the Universe, and therefore by implication in the human soul. Nevertheless, to insist with the present author that "the problem of philosophy remains where Plato placed it: Find the abiding, or there is for you no reality. Reality is the abiding, and the abiding is reality," is surely to posit an indestructible monistic basis for all our principles without exception, since there cannot possibly exist an actual dualism within the "abiding" or the Eternal as such. Needless to add that so well founded and healthy a Monism never attempts to suppress any of those essential contrasts, which both Nature and Man present in abundance, by as it were neatly removing them with some kind of intellectual smoothing iron. On the contrary, it is one of the hardest tasks of any true Monism to insist on these ineradicable differences, while at the same time endeavouring to incorporate them, rationally and intelligibly, within the Eternal Whole. In this vitally important respect, also, I feel that Professor Mercier has misconceived the correct interpretation of Hegel's thought; for we can scarcely attribute "Pantheism," and far less "pantheistic naturalism," to a philosopher who emphasized divine personality to the utmost, and who, so far from accepting "the doctrines of Spinoza," severely criticised and repudiated them. Nor can we regard "Bismarck and the swash-buckling Germany of 1870-1914" as "the legitimate progeny of Hegelianism," unless we care to hold George Washington responsible for the evils resulting from Prohibition.

In all other respects, however, Professor Mercier has written an eloquent, even if occasionally somewhat verbose, defence of some prominent types of French and American Humanism that can readily be appreciated by anyone already interested in the main currents of present-day thought. His aim lies in "abiding standards by which to judge," and this in such a way as to stress the "clear separation of God, man and nature, as distinct entities—the very essence of humanism as opposed to naturalism." At the same time "man is not apart from the rest of nature," just as in the opposite direction he is never apart from God. But this recalls anew the fundamental Monism already discussed, since "we can glimpse in every domain the abiding within the flux of change." But does not this insistence on man's distinctness from Nature preclude us from describing him as "a rational animal endowed with natural reason and will"? and all the more when we add "the presence of a higher will ultimately divine."

Psychologically, not even the anthropoid apes possess "reason and will" in any developed form, nor otherwise than as the potential germs of these exclusively human capacities; so that the term "rational animal" is, strictly, as self-contradictory as "triangular square." The author himself adds that "for Babbitt man is more than a rational animal"; immeasurably more, in fact.

For to continue: the higher will that operates in man is "evidently supernatural"; and this introduces the attitudes of Babbitt and More to Christianity—perhaps the most interesting section of the book, since "dualistic humanism points to the possibility and even likelihood of a divine Revelation." Thus the general impression that the philosophy of these two writers is "incompatible with a revealed religion" is categorically rejected on the ground that "it points to a supernatural order, whereas naturalism leads men away from revealed religion." This leads to the consideration of More's recent *Christ of the New Testament*, which is discussed in the light of its author's conviction that "Lutheran theology spells death to religion," exactly as "Kantian metaphysic spells death to philosophy." The support which this affords to Professor Mercier's own personal beliefs, which I have already indicated as Roman Catholic, is patent. But while the issues here raised must always remain controversial, there will undoubtedly be widespread agreement upon the general conclusion that "man will be smothered in the flux of circumstances unless he distinguishes between the law for man, distinct from the law for thing, unless he rises above this flux, in obedience to the law of the spirit."

J.E.T.

Religion and History. By J. C. MCKERROW, M.B. (Longmans). 6s. net.

READERS of this writer's previous volumes, reviewed in these columns, will be equally interested in this characteristic discussion of "religious and secular history" approached, respectively, from the "secular and religious point of view." Mr. McKerrow clearly recognises the difficulty of bringing his two Essays, originally "conceived and written independently," into very close relationship with each other, and I do not feel sure that he has done this quite successfully. But no one would deny, I suppose, that "the study of religious evolution, and of social evolution, are complementary"; and in any case, he himself insists that "religion is the very *life* of societies."

It is also certainly useful, to say the least, to "accept religious experience as a hard scientific fact," let us say for the psychologist

and anthropologist, the economist and historian. May not all our enquiries start from this standpoint, even if we feel compelled to advance much farther? and all the more so if (with the author) we regard religion as "the biological differentia of man, and the birthright of the race." It is, then, in the light of these principles that the section on Society should be read, marked as it is throughout by the independence and originality that distinguished Mr. McKerrow's treatment of Science and Metaphysics.

His historical and economic conclusions, however, are subordinate in interest to what he finds to say about "Evolution in the light of Religion"; and in view of my own earlier surmise as to his spiritual pilgrimage, the *apologia* which begins p. 80 is most illuminating, since he describes himself as a "convert from the view that the only knowledge worth mentioning is scientific knowledge." For may not this radically changed attitude, widely shared as it unquestionably is, counterbalance the fact that "in these days we seek to know everything about nature and man except the one thing needful?" Another safeguard lies in the keen insight with which many current assumptions are here criticised, although the brevity of treatment occasionally results in a somewhat disjointed analysis; as before, there are many valuable analogies based upon Biology, Structure and Function, both mental and bodily, such as the happy comparison of "ancient societies to invertebrates, the modern to vertebrates."

With special reference to religion, however, the more detailed contentions are extremely controversial. The fundamental point is that Christianity emerged from a prior Gnosticism, while "the Gnostic Christians were the *first* Christians"; this transition being effected by the acceptance of "the belief in an historical Christ." "It was the notion of an historical Saviour that appealed," and under the prevailing conditions this appeal was satisfactorily met by the Jesus of history, so that, ultimately, the dawn of Catholic Christianity coincided with the setting of Gnostic Christianity, and this to such a degree that Paul and "the Apostolic Fathers were Gnostic Christians," while "Catholic development" followed with "the unequivocal acceptance of the historicity of Christ," the final outcome being the supplanting of the original purer cult as a "Cain, Ishmael, Esau," in exactly the same way, presumably, that bad currency always drives out good from circulation.

Although the arguments for this position are presented so forcibly as to risk the impression that they are dogmatic in the bad sense of the term, I do not believe that this reproach is really deserved; and while the historical difficulties confronting it are plainly many and formidable, it is the psychological obstacles to its acceptance that seem, to my mind, still more insuperable.

For it follows from what I have just outlined that it was, in the main, "the simple-minded" to whom the "historical Christ" most intimately and powerfully appealed. In other words, the essential contrast between the original Gnosticism and the usurping Catholicism is inseparable from that between "fullgrown and babes." "The Apostolic Fathers are the babes among Gnostic Christians, not only intellectually but also spiritually"; and "the Gospels arose from the combination of the religious experience of the spiritually-minded with the simplicity of the babes among them."

But was it not Mr. McKerrow himself who insisted that the simple-minded is not necessarily a simpleton? and perhaps this distinction goes to the root of the matter here. For it is precisely the conclusions advocated that appear, to my own mind, to involve the entire hypothesis in a fatal self-contradiction; and this—to repeat—not on historical grounds alone, but for still more fundamental psychological reasons. Merely for argument's sake, let us give the term "miraculous" the widest possible meaning, and then let us eradicate from the Gospels all that we choose to call "miraculous" in this sense; in other words, let us regard it as a quite natural, but equally illegitimate and therefore unacceptable, accretion due to the "babes." We then remain confronted by the "historical Jesus," as a personality indissolubly associated with his moral and religious experience and teaching, which must of course be estimated not only in its unparalleled content, but at the same moment in the superb and beautiful form given to it in metaphor and parable, in gentle appeal and passionate intensity, in depth of insight and simplicity of expression. In short, when all the "miraculous" has been rejected, the crucial problem still remains untouched—Is it psychologically, aesthetically, or historically, conceivable that any group of people, whether "babes" or not, under the formidable opposition and persecution that confronted them, to say nothing of their own ignorance, lack of culture, Jewish prejudices and moral weakness, could create, and impose on their contemporaries, this unique and supreme figure, unless he had actually exerted his dynamic spiritual influence? I have deliberately stated the problem in its simplest terms; but Mr. McKerrow complicates it to an incalculable degree by insisting that this sheer impossibility was the achievement of men who were marked by "an inferiority, spiritual and intellectual." Further detailed comment seems to me quite superfluous, because the whole theory collapses completely under the weight of its own presuppositions.

A few minor points deserve notice. It is extremely doubtful that "scientists and philosophers have taught us to be a little contemptuous of science and reason," unless this means the too

mechanical science and too abstract reason of last century ; but the pendulum is already swinging back, with heightening intensity, to a completer science and a profounder reason as the indispensable foundations of all future cultural progress. Nor is it the fact that there is an "ever-increasing scepticism among the educated as to the alleged historical basis of Christianity." On the contrary, as I have just tried to show, to reject the "historical basis" completely is both psychologically and aesthetically impossible, while recent research is steadily becoming more "conservative" rather than "liberal" in the generally accepted sense. Mr. McKerrow concludes his able arguments by contending that "Christ be recognised as a mythical figure" and urging upon us "Christianity without an historical Christ." May I suggest that, as he candidly confesses, he has already travelled a long way, still further reflection may show him what groundless fictions these really are ?

J.E.T.

The New Psychology and Religious Experience. By T. H. HUGHES, M.A., D.D. (Allen and Unwin). 10s. 6d. net.

I AM sorry to feel that the author has treated his important and difficult theme with much more fervour than that strictly scientific accuracy which the subject really demands, so that the result is far too impressionist a presentation of the whole situation : and I should advise readers who are sufficiently interested to supplement this volume by consulting some of the more technical works which are now readily available.

To begin with, even the definition of Religion that is adopted is extremely questionable simply because of its restricted range. Religion, as such, is from the outset confined to, if not confused with, some of its later and higher forms. This initial and wholly illegitimate limitation clearly distorts the validity of all psychological analysis, because it excludes, if only by implication, not merely the primary forms of religious experience but also some of its best developed, even if highly specialised, expressions. Religion, for Dr. Hughes, "includes and involves an idea of God or gods, or a belief in their existence." "There can be no religious experience without some knowledge of God." "The personal relation is of the very essence of the experience." "It could not exist were it not conscious of a personal relation." "Religion is all this. A relation to God and belief about Him; dependence on God; and conduct calculated to please Him." "Religion," that is to say, is some type of Theism; and this in spite of the condition that "the definition should be wide enough to cover all religion from the lowest to the highest." Of course it should ;

and I unreservedly endorse the view that "religion is the whole personality energising and acting," if instead of adding "in relation to God" we substitute "to Reality" or "to the Universe." But quite obviously the author's own definition immediately rules out the transcendent Deism of Aristotle, the Pantheism (to retain the usual designation) of Spinoza, the impersonalism of Buddhism and the Absolutism of some religious philosophers. Whatever these may be, and however valid they may be, they are not, for Dr. Hughes, "religion"; and thus, to repeat, the psychological investigation of religion is so drastically curtailed as to lose much of its unquestionable value. For one of its most attractive, though baffling, problems is to trace out and explain the slow development of these widely diverse attitudes to the Universe, and to discover their common root. It is true that, at the end of his discussion, the author refers to "man's effort to give expression to this dim consciousness of the presence in the world of Someone or something that makes for the deepening of life." But the fundamental distinction between "Someone" and "something" remains almost unnoticed, so that even the "As if" philosophical theology of Kant scarcely falls within the legitimate confines of "religion."

Nor can we appeal, as Principal Hughes has done, directly to religious experience in itself and as such, and contend that it yields "a great body of evidence and a cumulative witness that warrants a safe conclusion as to the validity of religion," and that "no explanation is adequate that rules out the continuous activity of the spirit of God on and within the soul of man." For plainly, however true this may be, it is no real defence against that "deepest menace to religion" which questions the essential validity of the experience under investigation, and condemns it as illusory throughout; in view of this frontal attack, it becomes merely a feeble dogmatism to assert that the experience can vouch finally and decisively for its own truth.

It is equally futile to argue that Psychology, as a pure science, is incompetent to pass ultimate judgment upon religious truth, as truth. For Psychology, as such, need make no claims of this kind at all; it may rest content with revealing the unsubstantial basis which all religious truths possess. Needless to say that I do not admit that Psychology succeeds in doing this. I simply mean that many of the writer's most emphatic contentions do not meet the "spear thrust into the heart of religious experience" because, while his ultimate aim is throughout justified, his strategy and tactics are unsound and leave the really crucial issues quite unaffected.

The description of Science, to begin with, is just as restricted as the definition of religion already referred to. For "science as such moves in the realm of the given in a physical sense. It is

concerned with physical facts ; science deals with matter and material forces” ; and if we can bring ourselves to accept this literally and exhaustively, it at once follows that neither Psychology itself nor any of the social and economic sciences, and for that matter not even Mathematics, can be called “science” in any strict sense, since none of them is primarily “concerned with physical facts, matter and material forces.” Yet we find elsewhere that “psychology is a descriptive science.” Of course it is ; but the author’s entire treatment of “science as such” is radically faulty. Not only, as has just been seen, is it confined to “physical facts,” but its ideal is to “express its facts in exact quantitative measurements ; to do this all qualitative differences have to be reduced to quantitative.” As regards this far too widely held opinion all that is required is Professor Levy’s blunt statement : “This is false. The scientist is concerned with the measurement of a quality . . . Length is a quality with a measure” ; and similarly for “motion and distance.”¹ Even Geometry can proceed with no reference to measurement, while Physics likewise recognises qualitative distinctions, as Whitehead has insisted ; a feature that is equally prominent in the Biological sciences and their allies.

Equally misleading are the references to the important issues of Indeterminacy. At first sight this Principle would seem to be ascribed to Planck instead of to Heisenberg, while Planck’s own views on the controversy are totally misrepresented. Instead of asserting that “there is something like free will in relation to atoms and electrons,” Planck maintains that “the principle of causality must be held to extend even to the highest achievements of the human soul . . . under all circumstances the law of causation is valid”² ; and he regards human freedom as being real for reasons quite different from those cited by Dr. Hughes.

Psychology itself, still further, is treated in far too vague and confused a manner. In the first place, “Freud, Jung and their disciples” are all indiscriminately included in “the School of Psychoanalysis,” with no mention whatever of the distinctive titles for their own systems which Jung and Adler have adopted, although their differences from Freud are dealt with elsewhere. Nor is the statement accurate that “Psychoanalysis,” in this loose sense, strives to make “Psychology an exact science and reduce the facts of conscious life into exact quantitative measurements.” On the contrary, Freud and his followers insist on studying these “facts” just as they appear, together of course with their “Unconscious” affiliations ; measurement, indeed, is of very slight

¹ *The Universe of Science*, pp. 102-105.

² *Where is Science Going ?* pp. 155-157.

value except in relation to certain specialised researches ; it is definitely not primary and essential, as Dr. Hughes suggests. Nor, again, does Freud "tend to disparage reason" ; the fact is that he does the exact opposite by emphasising its rightful claim to exercise the ultimate and final control of conduct ; and closely akin to this position is Jung's stress on the advancing functions of consciousness as social evolution proceeds, as well as the paramount necessity for grasping the complete conscious situation, and not merely its quantitative equivalents even were these attainable, in the therapeutics of dreams ; while, in this connection, the assertion that "dreams are all due to repressed sexual wishes" has been categorically rejected by Freud himself. But the entire discussion of Freudian sexuality in the present work is weakened by a confusion, none the less serious because it may be unwitting, between the proper Freudian significance of the term and its usual more restricted meaning. Similarly, the statements about the attitude of the leading psychoanalysts are conflicting, for while "they all affirm that religious experience is an illusion, and that no reliance can be placed on its power," it is admitted elsewhere that Jung "allows some value and reality to religious experience" and "makes great use of religion" ; which is quite correct, but impossible to reconcile with the first assertion about "all the New Psychologists."

In the same unreliable manner, Behaviourism is interpreted altogether too emphatically in terms of its more extreme aspects ; "it ends by denying that mental states exist, except in the sense of physiological changes." But very few, if indeed any, behaviourists, and certainly not Watson, have ever denied the existence of such states ; they have simply tried to dispense with investigating them, for reasons quite simply and clearly explained by Watson himself—a standpoint plainly quite different from that attributed to them in this volume.

Somewhat technical though these matters are, they betray the superficiality with which the psychological aspects of the present situation have too often been treated. Exactly the same carelessness marks such statements as that the demon of Socrates "urged him on," whereas it invariably refrained from "urging," and guided him only negatively by way of warning and restraint ; and that Hume "concluded that the principle of causation implied nothing more than succession in time" ; while one of the best known anthropologists appears as "Mr. J. G. Fraser." With regard to the origin of religious response, the influence of the Oedipus Complex is repeatedly overstressed, as compared with that infantile helplessness, and its consequent attitude to parental control, wherein Freud discovers one main source of the belief in divine power and fatherhood. It ought to be clear that the results of the Oedipus

Complex—if of course its reality be granted—must be widely different from the effects of childish feebleness, since the first markedly differentiates between the reactions of the sexes respectively, while the second affects both sexes very much in the same way. But this cardinal consideration seems to have been forgotten.

I hope that I shall not be regarded as hypercritical ; I have no desire to be. But the obvious result of this defectiveness in handling one of the most important difficulties that confront the defenders of religious faith—as Dr. Hughes himself insists that it is—is that the weapons here offered must prove seriously unreliable in face of the widespread criticism of all religion from those who are at all familiar with the actual objections advanced by many psychoanalysts. It is regrettable that such a fine opportunity to reveal their real weakness has not been better utilised. On the more positive side the author has presented an eloquent and sincere outline of the main principles of Theism and Christianity, so far as these are concerned in current psychological discussion ; and he adds a useful Analytical Contents and Bibliography, the latter forming an excellent guide to readers who wish to pursue this subject farther, so as to deal competently with obstacles which, I suppose, everyone engaged in religious teaching repeatedly meets.

J.E.T.

Rome and Reunion. A Collection of Papal Pronouncements.

Edited by the REV. E. C. MESSENGER, Ph.D. pp. 153. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne). 3s. 6d.

ONE wonders what useful purpose can be served by the publication of this book. The expert on the subject will presumably possess Denzinger's *Encheiridion*, where most of the documents of any importance here published can be found ; while the ordinary man in the street will be put off by the mass of verbiage, in which these Papal pronouncements are clothed. It is comforting to notice that even the Papacy has not escaped the disease of talking in empty and meaningless platitudes, which besets modern ecclesiasticism. The author skates over the question as to whether Bull *Apostolica Cura* is an infallable utterance ; it is as well to remember that the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* in the article on *Infailibilité* does not mention the Bull in its list of infallible pronouncements. The book contains the Papal decrees on reunion from 1864 to the Encyclical *Mortalium Animos* of 1928 on the Lausanne conferences, arranged according to subject matter. Leo XIII appears to have had an admiration for the humanitarianism of the Anglican Church ; it is surprising that

a person of his acumen did not see that this humanitarian spirit, is the great weakness in modern christianity. The whole book reveals the *non possumus* attitude of Rome towards other christian bodies, and is not calculated to bring reunion any nearer to realisation.

G.W.O.A.

A Catholic Plea for Reunion. By FATHER JEROME. (Williams and Norgate). pp. 75. 3s.

THIS book, which has aroused a good deal of comment in the Press, is we understand the work of a Fr. Gilles. S. J. It might very justly be described as the Roman counterpart of *The Impatience of a Parson*. Under the guise of a zeal for reunion the author attacks the elaborate and unwieldy organisation of the Church of Rome, its complicated Liturgy, its perpetual itch for over-definition in the realm of dogmatic truth. Rome needs the simplicity of worship, the free and independent outlook of Anglicanism. The author's practical suggestion is that the Anglican Church should be recognised as a Uniat Body in full communion with the Holy See, but ruled by its own Patriarch at Canterbury, and keeping its own peculiar Rites and Customs. On the other hand we should have to accept some Catholic rectification of our Orders, but we are not to be asked to profess our belief either in Transubstantiation or Papal Infallibility, as at the moment understood in the Church of Rome. All that we shall have to accept is the simple faith of an Irenaeus on the Eucharist, and of an Aquinas on the Papal Supremacy. In outlining this scheme the author is almost certainly mistaken in supposing that if such a scheme of reunion came about, many Romans, both clergy and laity would embrace the Anglican Rite owing to its greater freedom and simplicity. One of the things which Canon Law abhors is a confusion of Rites. No member of one Rite can leave that Rite for another, except with the express permission of the Holy See. The following quotation from a constitution of Nicholas V illustrates the point: "*Pervenit ad aures nostras, quod in locis, quae Catholicis in Graecia subjecta sunt, multi Catholici, Unionis praetextu, ad Graecos impudenter transeunt Ritus. Mirati admodum sumus—, nescientes, quid sit, quod eos a Consuetudine, ac Ritibus, in quibus nati, enutritique sunt, in alienigenarum Ritus transposuit: nam, etsi laudibiles Orientalis Ecclesiae Ritus sint, non licet tamen Ecclesiarum Ritus permiscere—.*" The book is interesting more as an expression of certain tendencies at work in the Church of Rome; it can hardly be taken as a very serious contribution to the solution of the difficulties, which beset the reunion of Christendom.

G.W.O.A.

Ein Theologischer Briefwechsel. KARL BARTH und GERHARD KITTEL. (Stuttgart : W. Kohlhammer. 1934). Price, 0.75 m.

PROFESSOR GERHARD KITTEL, who is Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Tübingen and the son of Rudolf Kittel, is a warm believer in the Nazi ideal and a supporter of the new Protestant ecclesiastical *régime*. This collection of letters thus throws an illuminating light upon the theological issues which divide the adherents to the Barmen Confession and the *Deutsch-Christen*. Its eight letters extend from June 9 to July 7 of the present year. Much of the discussion centres in the question as to whether or not history can rightly be termed a "second fount of Revelation" (*eine zweite Offenbarungsquelle*). F.L.C.

Dilthey und die deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart. JULIUS STENZEL. (Berlin : Pan-Verlagsgesellschaft. 1934). Price 1.0 m.

THIS brochure, the substance of which was delivered as a lecture to the Berlin group of the *Kant-gesellschaft* on December 6th last, is an attempt to estimate objectively the influence which Wilhelm Dilthey has exercised upon contemporary German philosophy. It merits attention because outside Germany neither the importance of Dilthey's work nor the extent of his influence has been generally recognised. This is to be accounted for partly by the fact that when Dilthey died in 1911 at the age of 78 some of his most important researches were unpublished and had become known in Germany only through his lectures and personal communications, and partly by the fact that he never wrote a portentous work which would catch the public eye. That he was unable to produce an *opus magnum* is in some ways an index of his greatness. His work was fruitful because he was always ready to modify and revise it.

Recognising that productive philosophy is almost invariably the fruit of the study of one or more of the concrete "sciences" or branches of learning, Dilthey maintained a continuous interest in historical research. The main problem which concerned him was the possibility or otherwise of proceeding from the historically conditioned to the universally valid. How was it conceivable, he asked, that an individual person, one whose outlook and experience were necessarily limited by his *milieu*, should be able to discover the structure and content of universal principles ?

Dilthey attacked this problem from a large number of different angles, but never arrived at a solution of it. He was too conscientious to pretend that he knew the answer to a problem of which he was only too conscious of the difficulties. In harmony with this continual attitude of quest, he entitled most of his publications, as Professor Stenzel points out, (p. 4) with such

headings as "*Versuch einer Analyse des moralischen Bewusstseins*"; "*Bausteine zu einer Poetik*"; "*Beiträge zur Lösung der Frage vom Ursprung unseres Glaubens an die Realität der Aussenwelt und sein Recht*"; "*Ideen über eine beschreibende und zergliedernde Psychologie*"; and so on. Dilthey had, moreover, nothing short of a horror of *termini technici*,—a further impediment, especially in Germany, to his becoming a much quoted philosopher.

The categorical structure of the historical is for the philosopher and above all for the philosopher of the Christian Religion, a problem of basic importance. Von Hügel is one of the few English theologians who has as yet grappled with it. Yet the issues it raises are unavoidable. We are probably all ready to admit that in all our sources of Revelation,—in the Church, in the Gospels, even in the Christ himself,—that there is a fusion of the transitory and of the permanent, of "precept" and of "principle," of the historically conditioned and of the universally valid. But the grounds on which the differentiation ought to be made are still very imperfectly understood. For this reason Dilthey at least deserves a hearing.

F.L.C.

Die Katholische Wiedergeburt der Englischen Kirche. PAULA SCHAEFER. (Munich: E. Reinhardt. 1933). *Unbound*, 4.50 m. *bound*, 6.50 m.

FRAU SCHAEFER'S book is admirably suited to its purpose, namely, to present to German readers an account of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the Church of England in the last hundred years. She has made an extended study of almost all the aspects of the revival, and set forth her material with praiseworthy clarity. What is more, she writes with manifest enthusiasm. She has worshipped at Anglican altars; she has stayed in an Anglican convent; and she has among her acquaintances and friends some of the leading figures in contemporary Anglo-Catholicism. It may be questioned, indeed, if the movement has ever before had such appreciative treatment from a foreign pen. She even urges that "for the Western man of Germanic descent, who has understood the truth and the New-Testament basis of the fundamental Catholic conceptions, Anglicanism is the ideal" (p. 152). A further merit of the book is that it sets the movement in the wider background of Anglicanism; and the volume will thus, we believe, make the movement intelligible to German readers who read it with no previous acquaintance with Anglicanism.

Where every page contains dozens of facts, it is not surprising that a non-English writer should have overlooked a number of errors in matters of detail. It would be profitless to enumerate them here; many of them are of the sort traceable to the typist

or the printer. The statement that the number of Canons promulgated at the beginning of James I's reign was 161 and the assignment of the Gunpowder Plot to 1604 (both on p. 25) are instances of very many others of the same category. We are surprised, however, that one so well versed in the history of the movement should have allowed the *British Critic* to be described as a *Wochenschrift* (p. 62), and still more that St. Augustine's *securus judicat orbis terrarum* should be believed to have reached Newman through his studies in Monophysitism (also p. 62). But details such as these in no way diminish our sense of gratitude to the authoress. The study deserves a wide circle of readers both in Catholic and in Protestant Germany.

F.L.C.

Gibbon's Antagonism to Christianity. By S. T. McCLOY. (Williams and Norgate). 21s.

"HAD I believed that the majority of English readers were so fondly attached even to the name and shadow of Christianity," wrote Gibbon in his *Memoirs*; "had I foreseen that the pious, the timid, and the prudent would feel, or affect to feel, such exquisite sensibility, I might perhaps have softened the two invidious chapters, which would create many enemies and conciliate few friends. But the shaft was shot, the alarm was sounded, and I could only rejoice that if the voice of our priests was clamorous and bitter, their hands were disarmed from the powers of persecution." If the author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* had indeed restrained his pen, the present learned volume of Mr. McCloy would never have been compiled; for its theme is to trace the whole series of replies to, criticisms (and even defences) of, Gibbon from his own time to the present day.

In fulfilling his research Mr. McCloy has shewn quite indefatigable industry in amassing the most minute biographical details concerning Gibbon's opponents, champions, commentators and editors. The book deals indeed rather with antagonists than antagonisms; and its compilation merits the tribute of cordial appreciation of the painstaking work which has laid the foundation of its survey. Certainly Mr. McCloy has left no stone unturned (and no pamphlet undisturbed) to identify and specify the multitudinous contributors to the controversy aroused by the publication of the famous XVth and XVIth chapters. Of the majority of contemporary antagonists Gibbon entertained no exalted opinion; "a victory over such was a sufficient humiliation" in his judgement. Mr. McCloy thinks more kindly of them; and he joins with Gibbon in a fulsome appreciation of Richard Watson, pronouncing praises to which that divine's ears must have been long unaccustomed.

Not indeed that Watson was the only name of distinction in the anti-Gibbon list; a catalogue embracing Hurd, Joseph Priestley (a strange bedfellow of orthodox bishops and professors!) Lord Hailes, John Henry Newman, and Hilaire Belloc lacks neither distinction nor variety. Even authors of the Rationalist Press Association, Edward Clodd, J. M. Robertson, and Joseph McCabe, have been critics of Gibbon; whilst Leslie Stephen (who, bye the bye, was never ordained to the priesthood), found much both for admiration and censure in *The Decline and Fall*.

Mr. McCloy does full and learned justice to the several later editions of Gibbon, including especially those of Guizot and Bury. His volume, as has been observed, is a mine of information concerning its subject. At this time of day no one contends for either the infallibility, inerrancy, or impartiality of Gibbon; nor does any pen assail the substantial virtues of his classic composition. Whether the expenditure of so much labour upon the task of running to earth and classifying so many of Gibbon's antagonists was worth while is perhaps a matter of differing opinions. Granted the limits and status of his task, Mr. McCloy has discharged it with diligence and completeness. N.S.

The Heritage of Solomon. By JOHN GARSTANG. London: (Williams and Norgate, Ltd.). xvi, 439. With Maps and Illustrations. 20s. net.

IN preparing a book on the Sociology of ancient Palestine for the Herbert Spencer trustees Professor Garstang set himself no easy task, but he has succeeded in producing a work always readable and full of interest. After three chapters in which he surveys his sources of evidence, the geography of the Holy Land, and the sociology of the three great civilisations, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite, which affected it most strongly throughout its earlier history, he takes that history stage by stage from the Amarna period to the accession of Solomon. That this is the only feasible method to employ in dealing with a country which has undergone so many sociological changes, there can surely be little doubt, nor was it less necessary to provide (what Professor Garstang gives us) some account of the origins of Israel and more particularly of the religion which has been its mainstay. Here many scholars will probably disagree with some of the author's conclusions and it may be doubted whether his view of the Wanderings of Israel will be accepted without some specific reference to the evidence in its favour. What, however, is unquestionably of the greatest value for the student is the writer's first hand knowledge of modern Beduin life. Again and again whether it be in the matter of trial by ordeal or in the organisation of an army on the march Professor Garstang supplies many parallels, pre-

nant with interest and information, from the actual scenes which he has witnessed and the evidence which he has gathered whether from the semi-nomads of the Negeb or from the wilder Arab tribes of Trans-Jordania. For the study of the desert life of Israel (but it is surely misleading to describe it on p. 137 as "desert-born"?) these analogies from the present day are really indispensable, and it is safe to prophesy that they will give the book a permanent value. On the later stages of the people's history, from their first efforts to settle in Canaan to their final triumph under David and Solomon it is unnecessary to dwell at any length. Professor Garstang has his own views about the invasion and settlement and these are already familiar from his recent work, *Joshua, Judges*. For the rest, he surveys his evidence carefully and methodically and the resulting picture, though some of its features are disputable, is clearly drawn and supported by adequate evidence. One of the most important facts to which he draws attention and which may be mentioned here, is the long period of semi-nomadic life which Israel continued to lead in Canaan between the invasion under Joshua and the final establishment of the monarchy. Here as always a knowledge of the main results of Biblical criticism is indispensable and it is interesting to see how with a conservative use of them the obscure period of the Judges can be illuminated and explained. One other point in Professor Garstang's treatment of his subject may be specially noticed, the severity of the judgement which he feels constrained to pass upon Solomon. To those who have been accustomed to accept the usual view of this monarch's greatness, the condemnation which his arbitrary and selfish despotism here receives will come as a distinct, perhaps as a salutary, shock! It was, in fact, the great tragedy of the Chosen People that its undoing began not in a period of decline but at the extreme apogee of its earthly fortunes. Space forbids a more exhaustive account of the contents of this interesting book but special mention ought to be made of the admirable Sociological Index (from Genesis to 1 Kings, *not* as is stated on p. ix from Genesis to Joshua) which is the work of Miss D. M. Vaughan, and to the drawings and maps prepared by Miss M. Ratcliffe. It is indeed to be regretted that the illustrations are not more numerous and comprehensive; for the value of such a work as this would be greatly enhanced by a series of plates describing the main features, architectural, artistic, and so forth, of the various sociological phases through which the country passed. Misprints have been noticed by the present reviewer on p. 279 "Shilohite" (for Shilonite) and p. 334 "Absolom" (for Absalom), and Dr. Waterman's first name should be corrected on pp. 190, 191 from "Levy" to Leroy.

W.J.P.-A.

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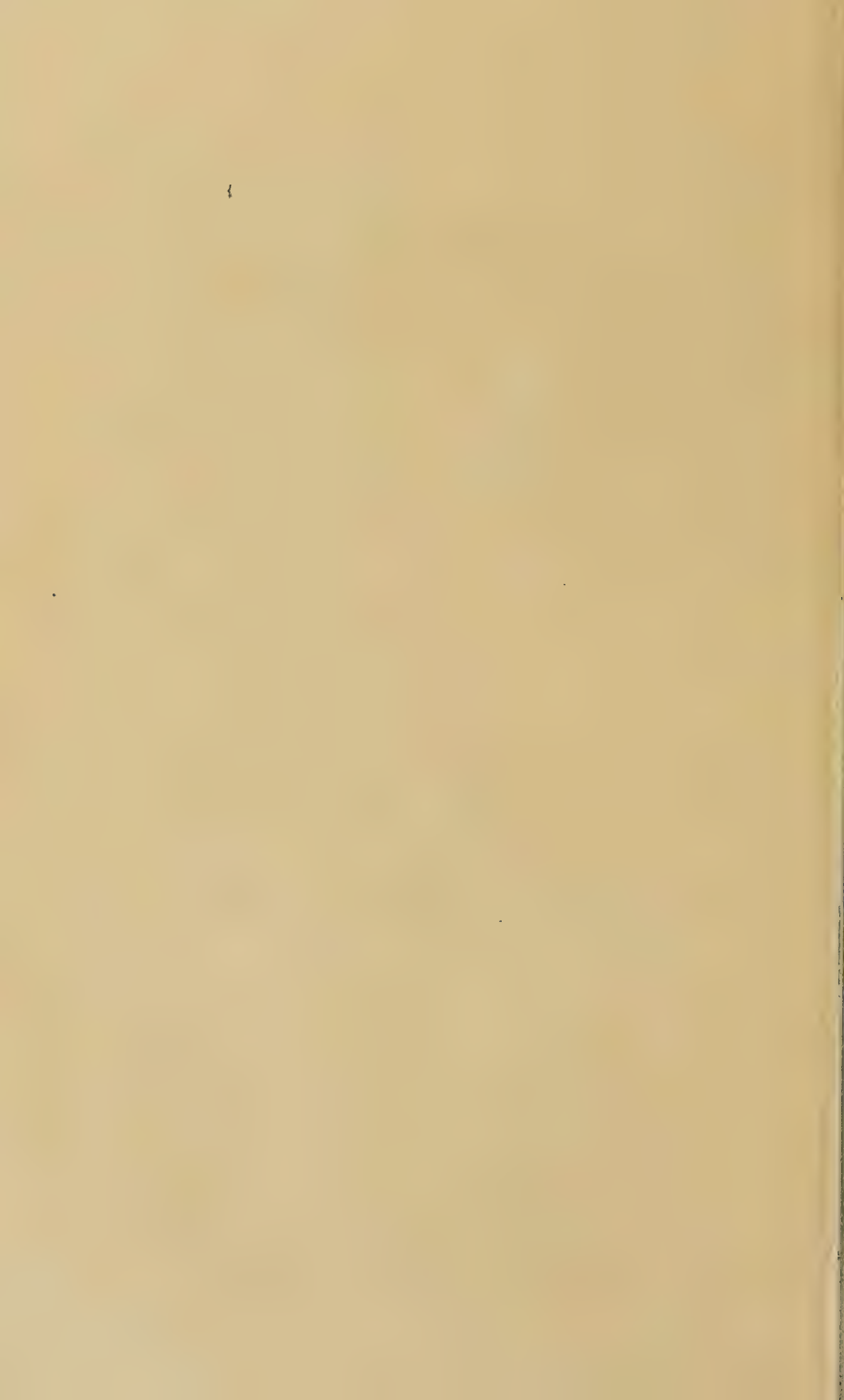
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